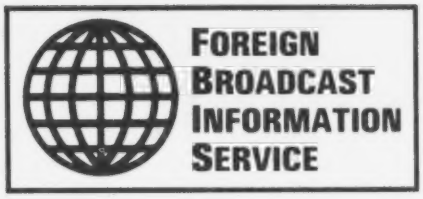

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-203 *20 October 1988*

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Destruction of Missiles in Arizona Described
LD1910144788 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Tucson, Arizona, October 19 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

The top-secret Air Force Base Davis Monthan in Arizona on Tuesday witnessed an unconventional event when the destruction of American land-based cruise missiles (LBCM) began there.

The intermediate-range missiles with a yield of up to 200 kilotons and a range of up to 2,500 km are being destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty which was signed in Washington in December last year during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

Forty one LBCM's and seven launchers are to be destroyed at the Davis Monthan base. A group of Soviet military inspectors have been invited to watch the destruction of American LBCM's.

Two Army buses with journalists drew up to the checkpoint of the base. A remark made by the press relations officer accompanying us to the effect that there was a Soviet journalist among the correspondents left the patrolman unperturbed. The buses were followed up by mobile vans of major U.S. television networks and of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The cameramen were hurrying to film the goings-on.

The first two LBCM's and one launcher were placed on a massive concrete ground at noon under the scorching sun of Arizona. Missile destruction is effected by a special unit of the U.S. Army. High-powered diamond and plasma cutters divided the missile body into two parts, separating the vanes and tail from the LBCM body. Then the missile head, without a nuclear explosive device and elements of the guidance system, were sawed. The launcher canister was cut into two, and an Army truck tractor hauled the pile of metal away. Soviet military inspectors scrutinised the remains. "Done", said one of them. There was applause from the bleachers with the representatives of the U.S. Department of Defense and the On-Site Inspection Agency, and with journalists.

Yet another specific step towards the elimination of two classes of the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States has been made.

Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, leader of the American inspection group, had recently visited the Soviet Union to attend INF missile destruction operations.

In an interview with the TASS correspondent he said: "We have now witnessed a truly historic event. The destruction of the newest nuclear weapon systems of the two countries signifies a major landmark in American-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union are taking unprecedented steps of late for a transition from confrontation to peaceful cooperation. This reflects the growth of mutual trust between them. The destruction of the missiles is the result of the conclusion of the INF Treaty. The implementation of the treaty provisions will lead to broader contacts and, I hope, greater trust between the United States and the Soviet Union.".

Mr. Lajoie said the destruction of the newest American and Soviet nuclear weapons became a usual occurence. Besides, on-site inspections broadened contacts between the military of the two countries and made American-Soviet relations more predictable.

This is really a historic event, agreed Navy Commander Kendall Pease. Military inspectors are being given access to facilities which were previously held secret in the United States and the Soviet Union. The nuclear weapon elimination process is gathering momentum.

"The INF Treaty signed by the leaders of our two countries has entered a new phase of its practical implemenation," said Vladimir Medvedev, the leader of the group of Soviet military inspectors. "The document became a manifestation of the new political thinking and opened up a new sphere in our relationships—the sphere of on-site military inspections. This is a historic precedent. We are deeply convinced that it is better to exchange numerous inspection groups than nuclear strikes."

"We have covered the huge distance to attend the destruction of American missiles", the Soviet representative went on to say. "The verification of real measures to reduce arms under the INF Treaty makes it possible to shorten the huge distances between Moscow and Washington, between Ulan Ude and San Francisco. There are experienced specialists among our group. The inspections have made it possible to establish good businesslike relations between the military and experts of the two countries. All this signifies successful headway along the lines of implementation of the INF Treaty".

"In the Soviet Union", Vladimir Medvedev went on to say, "there are no land-based cruise missiles any longer. The small number of them were destroyed in the presence of American inspectors".

In a talk to the TASS corresondent American military experts and journalists pointed out that the INF Treaty, apart from everything else, signifies the overcoming of psychological barrier in relations between the two nuclear powers. The American-Soviet INF Treaty, objectively leading to the building of confidence between them and to greater strategic stability, they said, presages the attainment of a qualitatively different level of cooperation in tackling major global problems, of which the preservation of peace and modern civilisation, and the survival of humanity are undoubtedly the main ones.

Pershing-2 Launchers Destroyed in FRG

LD2010133388 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Frankfurt-am-Main October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Gennadiy Kulbitskiy

In line with the Soviet-American INF Treaty, destruction of the first batch of launchers of Pershing-2 rockets, U.S. nuclear intermediate-range missiles, was conducted here for two days. This work was carried out at a point of elinmination which was specially equipped at a U.S. centre for repairs and servicing of Pershing-2 and Pershing-1A missiles in Hausen, a suburb of Frankfurt-am-Main.

The process of destruction which took place in the presence of 10 Soviet inspectors, included disassembly of missile launchers and subsequent cutting of their parts with plasma torches, dist-type cutters and electric saws.

All in all, nine launchers were eleminated from among missile systems deployed in the area of Heilbronn (Baden-Wuerttemberg state). Missiles, a component part of them, were shipped to the United States for destruction.

Actions by activists of the West Germany peace movement were held near the gate to the centre. They bore the following slogans: "West German peace movement also strcitly controls progress of realization of the INF Treaty", "We shall not permit any attempts to torpedo the treaty". A leaflet circulated by the Hessen organization of the German Alliance for Peace, points out that the elimination of missile launchers and nuclear rockets proves that disarmament is possible. Peace advocates should do their utmost to make this process irreversible. At the same time, it points out further on, reports that NATO entertains plans of "compensation" for the Soviet-American INF Treaty by replacing eliminated nuclear missiles with new ones, cannot but evoke a concern.

Today a group of Soviet inspectors who observed the destruction of the first batch of missile launchers, departed from Frankfurt-am-Main for Moscow.

Chernyshev on Balance of Forces, Soviet Doctrine

LD1910142188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct (TASS)—TASS military affairs observer Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

In the annual report of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance 1988-1989," two conclusions attract attention: The ratio in the field of conventional armaments and armed forces is allegedly shaping up in favor of the Warsaw Treaty; furthermore, despite the USSR'S statements about a transition to the new doctrine, "the West has not yet discovered any tangible reductions in conventional forces."

As far as the first claim is concerned, it testifies to the fact that Western experts continue to apply a one-sided approach to appraising the balance of forces, not taking into account the whole range of weapons, but artificially choosing only those areas in which there exists an asymmetry in favor of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Thus, in the face of objectivity, only certain types of ground forces' armaments (tanks, artillery) are taken into account, while the air and naval forces, where the superiority is obviously on NATO's side, are "left out" in the analysis. Quite naturally, the application of such a method cannot lead to objective assessments.

If one is to analyze the new Soviet military doctrine and the changes in military construction, one forms the impression that some Western experts either do not fully understand the gist of what is taking place in the USSR or are deliberately ignoring important aspects of Soviet military restructuring. The facts are as follows:

One of the most important elements of the new thinking in the military field is the idea of a reasonable (defensive) sufficiency permitting military construction to be based on the principles of realism and cost-effectiveness. Briefly such an approach can be formulated in the following manner: If a military policy ensures the release of additional resources for improving the socioeconomic position of the country, then it is a rational, effective policy.

Practical implementation of the idea of reasonable sufficiency, as we see it, must be carried out in two main directions: through unilateral measures by the state in the field of military construction, and through joint efforts by states belonging to different military-political groupings. As far as the first direction is concerned, as Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff, has stated, the USSR has embarked on restructuring the organizational structure of the Armed Forces to give it a defensive character, but this will take some time. The conclusion of the 19th all-union party conference on the need to ensure the effectiveness of defense construction by means of qualitative parameters is innovative. This directive has the aim not of building up the fighting potential of our Armed Forces but of maintaining this potential at a level excluding military superiority over us and guaranteeing the reliable defense of the USSR and its allies. Regarding armaments and military equipment, this means that fewer of these will be acquired by the forces, but the combat effectiveness and quality must be such as to ensure the possibility of performing defense tasks with a reduced complement of military means.

At the same time the reduction of armed forces, lowering of tension, and full implementation of the defense doctrine are possible only in a bilateral order, because the limits of sufficiency are dictated by the opposite side—by the structure and the quantitative and qualitative composition of its armaments and armed forces. For joint practical implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency with the opposite side, the Warsaw Treaty states consider talks on conventional armaments

and armed forces as the priority. Their main task should be mutual removal of imbalances and asymmetries, radical reduction of the allies' military potentials, and the achievement on the continent of such a situation in which the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty would still have the forces and means necessary for defense, but insufficient for mounting a sudden attack.

TASS Cites U.S. Arms Official at UN

LD1910145688 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 19 Oct 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] New York October 19 TASS—Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency William F. Burns made a speech on Tuesday at the first committee (political, security and disarmament questions) of the U.N. General Assembly, setting forth the U.S. approach to these matters.

The world community is better off today in terms of international security and stability than it was at the beginning of this decade, said the American representative. He mentioned the conclusion of the Soviet-American INF Treaty as an important step in the sphere of control over nuclear armamants. "This treaty, which is now being implemented, bans the entire class of nuclear arms and provides for an effective verification of their destruction", William Burns underlined. "The second, and more difficult 'step', he said, will be the conclusion and implementation of the strategic nuclear arms reduction treaty. "The United States and the Soviet Union reached an agreement on important elements of such a treaty that would provide for a fifty per cent reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the two sides", he said. Meanwhile the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency noted that the United States will oppose the proposals which "are counter to the United States security policy", or its "fundamental concepts, such as nuclear deterrence.

Touching upon the question of the Strategic Defence Initiative, William Burns admitted that "it is not yet clear" whether or not the potential of that system could be fully used. He underlined that the United States "will not bargain away its SDI programme or accept any provisions that would cripple its research, development and testing programme". Burns said that at the given stage his government was sceptical about a possibility of any new multilateral reasonable measures of control over arms in outer space.

The American representative also stated without reservation that the United States is not prepared to engage in negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty at this time, and consequently would oppose any call to initiate such negotiations. By the same token, he said, the United States is opposed to the proposal that has been made to amend the limited test ban treaty of 1963 to make it a comprehensive test ban, covering all environments.

UN Report on Afghanistan Notes Continued Combat

LD1810231588 Moscow TASS in English 2303 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 19 TASS—The conclusion of the Geneva agreements constitutes a major step in the efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan, says a report of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar published here today.

In this connection one has to regret that the parties which signed the Geneva agreements deemed it necessary to express to me their concern over what they regard as serious violations by the other side, Perez de Cuellar noted. He said he could not but state anew most decisively that the parties which signed these agreements are duty bound fully to abide by the letter and spirit of the commitments which they assumed and to fulfil conscientiously all provisions of these agreements.

The report expresses deep worry about the fact that combat operations entailing numerous casualties, including among civilians, are continuing in Afghanistan, and that the economic and social problems that emerged in neighbouring countries due to the presence of millions of refugees remained to be unresolved. This underscores the urgent need to attain full political settlement.

It stands to reason that any questions related to the Government of Afghanistan should be handled exclusively by the Afghan people, the report furthermore says. Attaining this is the principal and invariable goal of the diplomatic process within the United Nations framework. In this connection, the hope was expressed that all segments of the Afghan people will avail themselves of the historic opportunity to work out in a way chosen by them of an acceptable mechanism that would allow them to form a government on a broad basis. Perez de Cuellar noted that his representative was ready to give assistance in this process by making it easier to establish contacts among various segments of the Afghan people.

The United Nations Organisation strives as before to create conditions under which the Afghan people would be able to achieve peace and concord in their country and stability in the region. Perez de Cuellar stressed in conclusion that he urgently called upon all governments to give assistance to these highly important and necessary efforts of the Afghan people.

Delegates, Leaders Continue UN Discussions

Interest in World Space Organization

LD1810225288 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The special political committee of the U.N. General Assembly on Tuesday started the discussion of the issue on international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space.

The United Nations recognised preservation of peaceful outer space as mankind's priority task.

Committee Chairman Eugeniusz Noworyta, Poland's permanent representative at the United Nations, said that international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space was to ensure progress in that rapidly developing sphere for the benefit of the whole of mankind.

Session delegates showed much interest in the Soviet proposal to set up a world space organisation. Its implementation would raise international cooperation in the exploration and peaceful uses of space to a new qualitative level, Siegfried Zachmann, permanent representative of the German Democratic Republic at the U.N., said.

"The GDR welcomes the Soviet Union's readiness to create, on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar, a centre for international cooperation for peaceful uses of outer space and include it in the system of a world space organisation," he said.

ROK's No Tae-u Addresses Assembly

LD1810230288 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 19 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly today began the discussion of the new issue on its agenda—on promoting peace, reconciliation and dialogue in the Korean peninsula. The first speech in the opened debate did not contain, however, constructive directions in the settlement of this complex problem.

No Tae-u, head of the Seoul administration, spoke at length about the need for serious efforts to bring peace to and dispel tension in the peninsula, the striving for partnership relations with the DPRK, and repeated the proposal for holding a meeting of the two countries' leaders.

He stated about the wish to take positive steps toward improving relations with the USSR and the People's Republic of China. No Tae-u suggested, in part, convening a consultative meeting to involve the United States, the USSR, the People's Republic of China, Japan, and also the Democatic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and South Korea to lay down a sturdy foundation for peace and stability in North-Eastern Asia. His speech, however, fully ignored the root causes of tension in the Korean peninsula, linked first and foremost with the moves to turn South Korea into a bridgehead of permanent military threat, including nuclear threat, on the part of the United States. The head of the Seoul administration did not give any constructive answer to the DPRK's peace initiatives for a peaceful re-unification of the

country and turning it into a nuclear-free zone. More, No Tae-u underscored the intention to continue maintaining and even expand close relations and joint efforts with the United States.

A public demonstration was staged outside the U.N. Headquarters as No Tae-u was delivering his speech. The marchers protested against the Seoul regime's aggressive foreign policy and reprisals inside the country.

Socialist Delegates on Cambodia

LD1810231788 Moscow TASS in English 2306 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

At a plenary meeting of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session held on Tuesday the delegations of Belorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, the Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia made a joint statement concerning a group of persons representing at the session the so-called Democratic Kampuchea.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and it alone is the sole and lawful representative of the Kampuchean people, undoubtedly exercises control over the entire national territory, and has jurisdiction over the entire population of the territory, the statement points out.

Only this government is empowered to occupy the place which belongs to it by right in the United Nations Organisation and other international forums, since it is precisely the People's Republic of Kampuchea that returned to its people the dignity and human rights which were trampled upon for years by those who try to pass themselves as their representatives today.

The participation of the representatives of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea in the work of the General Assembly is unlawful. Their presence is an insult to the memory of millions of victims of the Pol Pot clique's charter. It creates hurdles to a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, stated the representatives of the socialist states.

Gerasimov on Foreign Policy, Restructuring

LD1610210588 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2010 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, by unidentified correspondent; date, place unknown; monitored in progress—recorded in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Gerasimov] ...The general mood, particularly if we look at U.S.-Soviet relations, has improved significantly. Journalists write about us with greater attention and interest and less hatred. It occurs to me that sometimes this depends on the individual and the country represented. Personally, I am content with the way they write about us nowadays.

[Correspondent] How many times in the past 2 years have you had to expel a foreign journalist? Has there ever been such a case?

[Gerasimov] No, we do not show anyone to the door. There has only been one case like this, and it was a peculiar one. Two years ago in the fall there was the Danilov affair, the case of a reporter from the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. However, since then there has fortunately been no such extraordinary affair. Everything is in order. Whether we are sometimes dissatisfied with certain reporters is of course a different question. This is usually the result of the individual not knowing us well or not knowing Russian well; perhaps he does not know our culture well. Thus if he chooses his subject badly, he can get into a difficult situation. For example, I am not satisfied with the Moscow correspondent for the English weekly THE OBSERVER. He is irresponsible. Taken as a whole, however, the foreign journalists accredited in Moscow are, in my opinion, a friendly community. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you agree that Soviet foreign policy in the past years, and particularly in the past 2 years, has become more effective? If yes, then what do you attribute this to? In your opinion, what are the most important factors in a successful Soviet foreign policy?

[Gerasimov] This is a very difficult question. I agree Soviet diplomacy has become more effective. This, in my opinion, is unequivocal. It is truly the opinion that the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union can be detected particularly in foreign policy. Today we can say that we have gained many friends. For example, we have improved our relations with the United States. Many people think that contacts with the United States have never been as good as they are now. At last we have managed to attain the first real step in the sphere of disarmament. Nuclear missiles have been destroyed. A few years ago, this would have seemed impossible—they were just arguing, arguing, arguing.

The task of our foreign policy now is for us to gain as many friends as possible and as few enemies as possible so that we create normal, peaceful conditions for the realization of internal restructuring.

If we compare today's situation with that of 2 years ago, then in my opinion we have a lot more friends. Our relations with the United States are better, our contacts with Western Europe have improved, with the UK, and with the FRG. Many reporters and foreign affairs journalists note the general improvement in the international atmosphere in connection with regional problems. They usually mention as examples that Soviet troops are withdrawing from Afghanistan, that in the Iran-Iraq

war—although for the time being there is only a cease-fire—there is hope for peace. The situation in the southern part of Africa has also improved somewhat. Whichever regional conflict we look at, a positive change can be seen.

Many people think this can be attributed to the general improvement in the international situation, and this—to a certain extent, to a significant extent—is connected to the changes in Soviet foreign policy.

[Correspondent] I think what you have been speaking about with regard to international conditions is very important—namely that there are fewer enemies. Doesn't this also depend on whom one regards as enemies?

[Gerasimov] I would say we have no need at all for any kind of enemies. We emphasize the significance of universal human values. At present our planet is endangered by things which threaten all of us, capitalist and socialist countries alike. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] All those Soviet foreign policy successes which we have been lucky enough to witness in recent years are regarded as the result of Gorbachev's political thinking. Is this true?

[Gerasimov] Yes, although they argue about this in America. Presidential candidate Vice President Bush, for example, thinks that the U.S. policy of strength has led to this. According to him, the United States stuck to its position, and as a result the Soviet Union changed its policy, including the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. The majority of foreign affairs journalists, however, do not agree with him. It is clear that we do not share this view, for what did the constant U.S. policy of strength lead to but confrontation, in which we also were participants? Now, however, our new policy rejects the arms race. We have gone over to the stance of looking for dialogue. I must say this is a very popular policy—and the United States spends such a lot on arms expenditures that this puts a burden on their economy too.

In the final analysis, we see today that Soviet-U.S. relations are improving during the tenure of a president who, when he took office in 1981, spoke about us in the most foul terms, and who increased military spending in the United States as never before. All this is seen in quite a different light today. In other words, the most important factor for successes is the new political way of thinking, the understanding that we can only solve mankind's problems together. To me this is a most important change, and it is in this direction that world opinion is changing as well.

[Correspondent] Indeed, a rebirth of public opinion can be seen. What sort of influence does public opinion wield on the direction taken by Soviet foreign policy?

[Gerasimov] Public opinion must certainly be taken into consideration in the sphere of foreign policy. What we are emphasizing is that our foreign policy is created not in the Kremlin and not in the Politburo; we are shaping it while taking into consideration public opinion, international public opinion and Soviet public opinion. [passage omitted] I remember the great debate here at home about the missile defense systems, right up to 1972 and the signing of the treaty. At first we approved of the systems. [passage omitted]

Times have changed. It is interesting to observe that our one-time arguments in favor of missile defense systems are now being revived in the United States. Reagan says that the SDI system is purely defensive, that no one wants to attack anyone, that it is only a guarantee. After all, who would not want to protect his country against a nuclear attack?

With all this I merely want to illustrate that there were debates on these questions in the past as well. Despite this, we allowed ourselves to be dragged into the arms race. We put too great an emphasis on numbers. We supported the United States, then we had to have such and such a number of arms.

[Correspondent] You mean just as many plus one.

[Gerasimov] Yes, or plus one. Let us take, for example, the question of the European intermediate-range missiles. I asked our military experts—you know, when there was a debate concerning these missiles and a serious movement developed in Europe in opposition to this type of missile—whether it was possible to strike at Europe with intercontinental ballistic missiles. The soldiers said that it was possible. In that case, what need is there for the intermediate-range missiles? Well, because of the savings; these are somewhat cheaper. If we take into consideration what a great political protest these missiles evoked, perhaps it would have been worth rethinking the matter and renouncing them. For the Americans, however, this provided an excuse for the creation of the Pershing-2 missiles. By the way, they began designing these before we did our missiles. Because there is also a technological force of inertia at work—the force of inertia in the sphere of military technology. If something can be invented, it will be invented. There is a need for wise politicians who can say: Wait, do we need this? In fact what happens is that once we invent a new type of weapon, we also manufacture it, and then we invent a way to use it.

This was followed by our argument—which was, incidentally, perfectly correct—that if the Americans had additional nuclear forces in Europe, we would have to oppose this with our own nuclear arms. This was the numerical balance. All this led to a new stage in the arms race; both sides have acknowledged this, and we are now reducing our stock of arms. We are eliminating missiles and the Americans are doing the same. We eliminate more of them because we produced more of them some

time ago. But we are now eliminating an entire category of nuclear weapons. This is also an example of how we allowed ourselves to be dragged into an arms race, endeavoring to achieve a numerical balance. Our scientists are now saying that what we need is not a numerical balance but a rational level, a rational sufficiency. Our soldiers say the same thing. There is no need to build a bridge longer than the width of the river.

Have the soldiers become wiser? Not only the soldiers. By the way, this is a question not only of the soldiers but also of the political echelon. After all, these decisions were made jointly. This is the problem with the military technological thinking. There are planning departments, clever people who invent various things. For example, the Roentgen laser in the United States is supposedly capable of almost anything. Your compatriot, Edward Teller, recommended a strategic defense system to Reagan whose central element would be this Roentgen laser. This is a typical technological approach. Is there a need for the Roentgen laser? The question that has to be decided is whether to develop it at all. According to some people, just as technological development cannot be brought to a halt, military technological development cannot be halted either. This is a mistaken view. After all, even if general development cannot be halted, it is possible to hold back development in a given area. After all, this is not happening by itself. Particular decisions are needed for resources to be directed to that particular area, including intellectual resources. This is a matter of political decisionmaking. [passage omitted]

I know the United States well. I spent 3 weeks there this year. I know that the majority of Americans look at us in a friendly way. They would like our relations to improve. They are interested in us. Nonetheless, the conditioning, the traditional distrust remains. This is, by the way, constantly fed by the press as well as by people on the right, the hawks. Then there is the influence of the military-industrial complex. In brief, there is a long-term, prolonged struggle to win over public opinion. This cannot be explained in any other way.

[Correspondent] Restructuring, the new foreign political thinking, has brought about spectacular changes in Soviet diplomacy. The situation is more difficult regarding the Soviet economy and domestic politics. As a Soviet citizen, what is your opinion of this? I am asking this because many of my Moscow friends and acquaintances are dissatisfied with the rate of progress.

[Gerasimov] I too am dissatisfied. But what can we do? It is possible that we were mistaken in our evaluation of the braking effect of bureaucracy. It is possible we did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that restructuring affects personal interests, violates the personal interests of many people who have become accustomed to things as they are, and who do not want an improvement out of fear that this would worsen their position.

I, too, am depressed when I read the many articles in the Soviet press saying that however much we beat the drum, the situation is still not improving in many areas. To this it must be added that almost daily old problems come up again—problems which people did not know in the past or about which they only dared whisper. These are almost eternal problems. The roots of some reach down very far; perhaps they have cultural or psychological roots. [passage omitted]

Our problems are not only of an economic nature, they are psychological as well. I think we speak too much of improving the economic incentives that everyone should have in line with their work to encourage them to work more. In addition we speak too little about the psychological factors—until we get burned.

[Correspondent] Obviously you are very familiar with the platforms of the U.S. presidential candidates, Bush and Dukakis. On the basis of their campaign speeches, which one would you vote for?

[Gerasimov] Well, here is the contradiction between the foreign political spokesman and the journalist. As a foreign political journalist I could speak about the chances of Bush and Dukakis and whom I would favor. A journalist can do this. But as a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I cannot favor either: This is an internal affair of the Americans. Let the American voters decide whether they want Bush or Dukakis to occupy the White House. This is my answer.

I might add to this in general, however, that the U.S. election campaign appears very strange to us. The most important consideration appears to be what the candidate looks like on the television screens. This is perhaps the most important factor. They perceive something of the political views of the candidates as well, but the most important thing, nonetheless, is whether they have charisma or not. [passage omitted]

Western Europe is more advanced in this respect. There the majority of the voters have a reasonable idea of the political stance of this or that candidate.

What is favorable for us in the present U.S. election is that there has not been any particular dispute in the course of the campaign regarding Soviet-U.S. relations. Both candidates agree that these relations must be developed. As to how they should be developed, this is something on which there are marginal differences. However, there is no question that they must be developed.

[Correspondent] Hungarian public opinion reacts very sensitively to official policy in neighboring Romania, what we usually call the bulldozer policy. I know that there is a golden rule which you observe, namely that you do not discuss the activities of a third party in his absence. But since I think that Hungarian-Romanian relations could affect the activities of the Warsaw Pact,

and since relations between these two countries could undoubtedly affect the unity of our alliance, I would like to ask the views not of the diplomat but of the journalist regarding the obvious differences between the two countries.

[Gerasimov] In reply I could ask you where you think a solution might lie. It is obvious that there is only one possibility. When we have differences with our adversaries, with the United States for example, how do we try to solve them? We initiate meetings, we negotiate, the Americans also come to visit us, and we discuss the problems. Even when the U.S. position does not change, it is still very good that we have met and clarified matters. We have problems with China as well. Recently the Soviet deputy foreign minister went to Beijing and the disputed questions were discussed. In some areas we managed to find solutions, in others we did not.

Why have I told you this? Because it is likely that in this area as well the answer is that common terms must be found through negotiation. We as a third party find it very difficult to say anything more than that. Naturally, we are very sorry when differences such as these arise, but they must not be permitted to get worse. It is through negotiations and dialogue that some sort of way out must be found. I agree that this is often difficult—not only here but, unfortunately, also between other countries. However the Soviet Union must not be regarded any longer as some sort of arbiter who, like King Solomon long ago, will solve every problem in the place of others.

[Correspondent] At the beginning of our conversation it was mentioned that your last visit to Budapest was 2 years ago.

[Gerasimov] Yes, 2 years and 2 months ago.

[Correspondent] What will your schedule be after this conversation? Will you have some free time? Do you feel like having a walk in Budapest?

[Gerasimov] Unfortunately, although this is my fifth visit to Budapest, on every occasion I have been able to see only very little of the city.

[Correspondent] Will you have time now to look around?

[Gerasimov] Hardly. These are official trips and those who organize them put together a very busy agenda every time. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, and I hope that you shall have at least 5 minutes to relax.

Yakovlev Receives Bulgarian, Korean Officials

LD1810162588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, today. He is in Moscow on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. They exchanged opinions on current problems of the world communist and workers movement in light of the new political thinking, and on several questions of the current cooperation of our parties.

Also today, Comrade Yakovlev met with Hwang Changyop, secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, who is passing through the Soviet Union. During their conversation there was an exchange of opinions on several questions of bilateral relations and international politics.

PRAVDA on 'Gigantic' Pacific Exercise Plan

PM1910083388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "What If It's Not Provocation?"]

[Text] Tokyo, 17 Oct—SANKEI SHIMBUN, a newspaper close to Japanese military circles, has published a sensational front-page report with the glaring headline "Biggest Maneuvers in Pacific History." Citing information obtained from anonymous individuals responsible for resolving questions of Japanese-U.S. military cooperation, this article announces that the U.S. Armed Forces Pacific Command has decided to hold in the Pacific zone, in September-October 1989, gigantic combined maneuvers involving U.S. Armed Forces and those of countries allied with it, including Japan, which will be the "biggest in the region's history."

These maneuvers will encompass an entire Pacific zone, including the Aleutian Islands, the Sea of Okhotsk, the Sea of Japan, and the South China Sea. The newspaper indicates that the organizers of the maneuvers plan to take specific actions to implement the "U.S. Pacific Defense Strategy" and determine the role of each of the allied countries in this strategy. The commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific and Indian Oceans will, for the first time in peacetime, direct the maneuvers himself.

The U.S. 3d and 7th Fleets, two or three ground forces divisions, marine divisions, and more than 500 combat aircraft including B-52 strategic bombers will be involved in the maneuvers. U.S. Armed Forces subunits stationed on the mainland and in Hawaii, and also in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and the Mariana Islands, will be operational in the area of the maneuvers.

However, the most striking part of the newspaper report describes the tasks that the participants in the maneuvers are to rehearse. The newspaper sets out the three paramount tasks as follows. "1. To 'Paralyze' Kamchatka; 2. To put troops on the Aleutian Islands and occupy the Kuriles; 3. To establish complete control of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan." Giving its opinion of these tasks put forward by the U.S. military command, the newspaper writes that they are all "imbued with a clear desire to oppose the Soviet Union along the entire Pacific perimeter." The newspaper stresses that, unlike all previous exercises, these maneuvers will be carried out in accordance with a program that will specify precisely which troop units will resolve each of the aforementioned specific tasks.

The above information can hardly be deemed totally trustworthy. Considering the newspaper editorial office's unfriendly attitude toward our country and its penchant for deliberately fueling militarist sentiments among the population, it cannot be ruled out that this article is pursuing provocative aims. But at the same time one cannot disregard the newspaper report. For who can say with conviction that, by organizing military maneuvers on an unprecedented scale in the Pacific, the Pentagon chiefs are not proceeding doctrinally on the premise of a possible military clash with the Soviet Union and an attack on Soviet territory? The newspaper's close ties with well-informed Japanese and U.S. military experts give us grounds for making such suppositions.

Given all the circumstances, the SANKEI SHIMBUN article is clear evidence that extremist forces have staged another recovery in U.S. and Japanese circles. They are endeavoring to prevent the relaxation of tension in the Pacific basin and the region's conversion to a zone of peace. All indications are that the recent mobilization of these forces constitutes a negative backlash on their part to the new Soviet peace initiatives expounded in M.S.. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech, which provoked a widespread response in the Pacific countries.

But such a nervous and knowingly hostile reaction to the constructive Soviet peace proposals is likely to have extremely dangerous consequences. Saber-rattling near Soviet borders cannot and will not bring any laurels to the Pentagon or to the U.S. and Japanese politicians who are indulging its bellicose militarist plans.

Article Views Need for 'Common European Home'

PM1710130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Vl. Kuznetsov under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "A European Home: What Will It Be Like?"]

[Text] A home for all of Europe, a common European home. This concept has been interpreted in various ways, but it has become a lasting feature of political activities.

Many NATO politicians state that they consider the idea of an all-European home of detente attractive and promising. Even high-level military officials do not avoid discussing it. In the opinion of FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz, for instance, the implementation of this project should "signify broadening contacts among peoples: from freedom of speech to freedom of movement, broadening cooperation among states and, on this basis, increasing competition, which generally promotes even greater rapprochement between systems."

Despite the objective obstacles and the opposition of confrontational forces that are trying to derive benefit from division in Europe, this approach is becoming increasingly widespread.

Certainly, the concept itself is no speculative system, no castle in the sky, but a response to the urgent requirements of the continent's security. It is backed up by the new situation in Europe and by contemporary realities. Which, to be specific?

First, profound transformations, processes of deepening democratization, and a developing glasnost are under way in the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist part of Europe in the political, economic, and spiritual spheres. There is progressively less reserve and constraint in relations with the outside world. This is broadening the objective base for organizing diverse East-West contacts, productive cooperation, and constructive collaboration. The socialist part of the continent is working with increasing vigor to build a united, integrated Europe. Of course we must not close our eyes to the fact that there is a demarcation line on European territory between two military-political alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Nevertheless, today we hear less and less often about the "Iron Curtain" on the continent. If no one can abolish the ideological differences, the other barriers—political, economic, and humanitarian—have been somewhat lowered, even if they haven't been toppled.

Second, the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles marked the beginning of the effective relaxation of nuclear confrontation in Europe. The long-awaited opportunity has emerged of securing a radical reduction in conventional forces and arms and of removing all imbalances in this important sphere. By ridding relations on the continent of tension and exaggerated fears and suspicions, military detente will undoubtedly facilitate political detente and consolidate trust and mutual understanding.

Third, there has has been a marked increase in the role of integration processes in Europe. They are developing in the most diverse peaceable spheres. This pooling of efforts by peoples and states logically accords with our era. By helping to resolve common problems and to close the gaps among all the participants in the common cause,

it helps to strengthen the political, economic, and humanitarian infrastructure in Europe and—in the light of the continent's global significance—across the planet.

The processes of renewal in the socialist community, the beginning of real nuclear disarmament, and the growing involvement of peoples and states in resolving global problems are changes on an historic scale. They are also creating the preconditions for erecting an all-European home.

Unfortunately, these preconditions are subject to by no means favored treatment but to a political maelstrom, with all its turbulence and dangerous pitfalls. Many obstacles and difficult problems crop up here.

Take, for instance, the integration processes under way in East and West. In which direction will they move in the coming years? It is clear that it is in European interests not to allow them to separate like ships at sea. The establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations illustrates that they do have points of contact. The task is to use them to broaden the range of collaboration so as to ensure that both of the integration processes develop and broaden equitable, constructive, and mutually advantageous cooperation on an all-European basis.

In light of this task, how are we to regard West European integration in the military sphere? Some people cannot fail to be suspicious of it. Will such integration not result in its slipping into the role of some kind of NATO double or duplicate? The plans for "compensation" and "modernization" now being debated in response to the elimination of two classes of missiles, the attempts to create a "European arms pool," and the new version of the "European defense community" lead not toward unity but toward disunity within Europe and do not consolidate but shatter security.

The following question arises: Was the Soviet-U.S. treaty concluded in order for everything to remain as it was and for military rivalry to continue with unremitting force? Of course not. The treaty's logic lies in strengthening strategic stability. Western Europe's logical response to this treaty should entail steps that would help to reduce the level of tension on the continent and to further stabilize and improve Soviet-U.S. relations, which in this capacity would benefit peaceful European development.

However, it must be noted that there is still a long way to go to a common interpretation of the hidden dangers here. Realistic politicians in the socialist countries and the West European states see the danger of preserving the atomic powder keg. Some Atlantic leaders see the renunciation of nuclear forces as a "catastrophe" for NATO.

This stance does have a kind of logic. It is the logic of militarist apologism, elevated to the rank of the best guard and guarantor of national interests and security. Proceeding on this premise, people believe that NATO needs as many missiles, aircraft, and various other weapons as possible in order to prevent a "catastrophe." But what can such "rescue" systems guarantee? Only strategic instability and the explosive equilibrium of fear that is fraught with catastrophe at any moment.

Too much fuel has piled up where the European home is to be built. The level of military confrontation is too high and too great. Europe cannot survive without military detente. That is why the concept of an all-European home is above all the concept of a demilitarized Europe.

The Warsaw Pact has proposed to NATO a carefully considered, balanced program for relaxing military confrontation. It ranges from the elimination of all imbalances and asymmetries between the two military-political alliances to deep reductions in troops and arms—tactical nuclear weapons, tactical-strike aviation, and tanks. And it ranges from confidence-building measures on an all-European scale and comparing Warsaw Pact and NATO military doctrines to establishing direct contacts between Warsaw Pact and NATO headquarters and their commanders, to the dissolution in the historical future of both alliances and their military organizations. It ranges from establishing individual, regional zones of confidence and security (the Jaruzelski plan, the Jakes plan, etc.) to creating an all-European infrastructure of strategic stability. All this to be monitored effectively, including on-site inspections.

The proposals made by Warsaw Pact participants require an unbiased attitude. When people in the west of the continent, including official NATO circles, give assurances that they are taking the idea of an all-European home seriously and want to build it together with the East, it is unworthy to try to criticize in advance the actual proposals of the other side, without proper investigation of the whys and wherefores. It is certainly not in the spirit of the time to bring out the scarecrow of the "Soviet military threat" in an attempt to thus cut oneself off from constructive initiatives.

A statement made by the U.S. President said that "the Soviet Union's large-scale military presence" poses a "very great threat" to NATO countries' security and stability. Everything indicates that diehard NATO supporters of confrontation continue to see kindling fear of the USSR as the best means of preserving the NATO's cohesiveness and militancy. But there is a substantial difference between the Soviet and the U.S. military presence in Europe. The USSR is a European power and is protecting its borders here, whereas U.S. forward-based systems directly threaten USSR security.

"The U.S. line of defense is here on West European territory and not somewhere on our east coast," says U.S. General John Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, as if talking about something uncontroversial. But it is by no means self-evidently acceptable to take up a line of defense far from one's national

borders on other states' territory. It is not the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies that have encircled the United States with their military bases but vice versa. We advocate eliminating military bases on other countries' territory in the future and striving to confine all states' military activity to within their national borders.

It would seem that people in NATO have still not fully realized the entire significance of the breakthrough in European and world development that is taking place in connection with the start of real nuclear disarmament. Unfortunately, not everyone there understands the conclusion drawn by French President Francois Mitterrand, along with many other politicians. "At a time when the two blocs are involved in a disarmament process for the first time since World War II," he stated, "it would be paradoxical to upgrade our arms."

Yet there are paradoxes in the NATO approaches. They support the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles and advocate a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and U.S strategic offensive forces—yet they cling to nuclear weapons and refuse to hear of a nuclear-free Europe. They proclaim their desire for "lower levels of arms"—yet they retain and even build up these levels by "compensation" and modernization. They talk of the positive changes within the USSR—yet they refuse to change their attitude toward it or to change themselves. In short, they are preserving the morals and habits of the time of confrontation, including the habit of living aloof, behind a high fence bearing the sign "Beware of the Dog." West German politician Egon Bahr is right in saying: "In recent decades Europe has somehow grown accustomed to being split."

There is even the fatalistic viewpoint that accepts the split on the continent as insuperable and everlasting, and disregards any possibilities of a rapprochement between its two parts. This scenario is supplemented by other staunch stereotypes: People say that Moscow's entire European policy boils down to attempts to "smash" NATO and uncouple the United States from its West European allies.

Such suspicions have no serious foundations. Of course there is Warsaw Pact solidarity and there is NATO solidarity. If you view this from the stance of confrontation, antagonism, and hostility, then you get a picture of utter incompatibility. But what if you look at it from positions of an interconnected and interdependent world, cooperation, humanism, and the resolution of common global tasks, that is, from the positions of the new political thinking? Then it is easy to see that the two types of solidarity have at least points of contact. Two different Europes are going their own ways, but if only they were to go in the same direction—toward universal peace and security.

The countries of socialism state clearly and unequivocally that they advocate a Europe of peace and cooperation, an all-European home in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust can be affirmed. They would prefer to act in unison and on a constructive basis with the United States, Western Europe, and all their organizations in order to implement these goals. They would prefer to seek and create a platform for joint actions, which is, I believe, what accords best with the demands of our time, rather than trying to disrupt one another.

Europe now has everything necessary to ensure a new qualitative level of interstate relations and start a productive phase of true detente. Is it only in Moscow that people adhere to this opinion? No, it is shared by people in many capitals. Let us not make unsubstantiated statements. In the opinion of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, who stated his intention to turn a new page in relations with the USSR during his upcoming October visit to Moscow, it is necessary to make use of the opportunities created by the new political thinking in order to strengthen stability in international relations. Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos believes that the "new Soviet thinking is geared toward a joint exploration of problems of global significance." Finnish Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa voices the conviction that "Europe today has the previously unprecedented opportunity of establishing a stable peace and initiating the process of genuine disarmament."

Will our continent continue to take the lead in awareness of its own and world realities and the most urgent needs of the international community? Will it continue to set the tone in determining constructive ways to a peaceful future?

Europe will have to answer that question.

United States & Canada

Bush Speech Contrasts Improved Soviet Ties

PM1910193788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Sad Echo"]

[Text] New York—Political symbols are an attribute of considerable importance. Therefore when it was announced that Vice President G. Bush was to deliver a speech at Westminster College in Fulton (Missouri), everyone knew immediately that it would be a keynote speech on foreign policy questions. After all, it was here, in Fulton, in March 1946 that Winston Churchill, by then retired as prime minister, delivered his speech. "An iron curtain has descended across Europe"—the words spoken here became "famous," alas, for a long time. It was this pithy speech that sketched out in encapsulated form the contours of the policy of "cold war"—a gloomy period in East-West relations which poisoned the minds of whole nations and individual people.

Of late Bush has been behaving more and more like the next president of the United States. He is confidently moving ahead of his rival Dukakis. Therefore his speech attracted all the more attention in the United States.

Essentially, Bush's speech reflected the enormous dilemma U.S. foreign policy is facing in connection with the restructuring that is under way in the USSR. It is obvious that relations with the Soviet Union cannot be handled in the old way, since Soviet policy today is proving attractive to many people in the world. However, it is terribly difficult to abandon stereotypes. The whole of the vice president's speech was a not very successful attempt to reconcile these highly incompatible approaches.

It was with a reference to the "historic" image of the great prophet of "cold war" that Bush began his speech. "The iron curtain still stretches from Szczecin to Trieste," he said. "But it is growing rusty." You would think that this can only be a cause of joy! Interstate dialogue is getting under way, Soviet and American people are meeting more and more often, for the first time in history nuclear missiles are being destroyed, and students from both countries are going to study at Soviet and U.S. higher educational establishments.

"Gorbachev and the other Soviet leaders," the vice president went on, "are more committed to glasnost and domestic reforms than their predecessors. This is a promising beginning. However, we must not let ourselves be lulled into naive complacency. Under no circumstances must we reduce our commitment to peace through strength—a policy which the United States must continue."

"Soviet restraint is a consequence of their own weakness, but also a consequence of our strength, our ability to avert aggression..." Bush argues. "To go back on this, to change course, would be to create problems once again." In conclusion Bush again recalled Churchill's remark that a strong and united West can reach understanding with Moscow on all questions. "This is our agenda," the speaker concluded.

At the same time, as THE NEW YORK TIMES has noted, Bush is very selective in following Churchill's advice. The British politician called in his speech for a strong United Nations to settle crises in the world. Bush believes (and in this he differs from Dukakis) that the United States must not give up "an iota" of its sovereignty in favor of this international organization.

There is no need to dwell on the internal contradictoriness and uncoordinated nature of the agenda which the vice president has proposed. It is obvious that the calls for a "position of strength" policy and, consequently, for everything that goes with it—the arms buildup and encouragement of confrontation—run counter to the emerging mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States. Acting in accordance with the vice president's recommendations would mean going forward with the left foot and backward with the right foot. We have been able to achieve progress in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years only when both sides gave up what was worst in their foreign policy. Only along this road is it possible to move toward a safe world free from the pernicious arrogance of strength.

Savannah River Nuclear Plant 'Incidents' Noted

LD1910214188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Two more incidents have occurred at the Savannah River nuclear weapons enterprise in South Carolina which resulted in the discharge of radioactive materials into the atmosphere.

A few days ago facts about the many dangerous incidents at Savannah River were revealed during hearings in the U.S. Congress. It turned out that from 1957 to 1985 the reactors of the Savannah River military works have stopped hundreds of times due to chronic defects in equipment. In the same period over 30 serious incidents have occurred. [video shows external and aerial views of plant, a notice board giving name of plant and another notice board with the words: Z-Area Defense Waste Processing Facility]

Shutdown Hits Tritium Supply

PM1910190188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Linnik dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Tritium in Powder Magazines?"]

[Text]New York, 19 Oct—The Pentagon is sounding the alarm: Unless the reactors at the Savannah River plant

near Aiken (South Carolina), which produces materials for nuclear warheads, are started up this year, "the consequences for the U.S. ability to maintain its nuclear deterrent potential will be most serious."

The Savannah River plant is the only enterprise in the United States producing tritium for nuclear warheads. Tritium increases the yield of nuclear weapons while at the same time making it possible to reduce the size of the warheads. The reactors at the plant have been idle since August, when cracks and other damage were found on the casings of two of them. The Dupont de Nemour company tried to convince the inspectors that this was nothing more than superficial corrosion and quite harmless. However, the U.S. Department of Energy safety experts would not budge and ordered that the reactors be shut down pending clarification of all the facts.

The Savannah River plant is 1 of 17 U.S. enterprises and laboratories in 12 states engaged in producing nuclear weapons. According to specialists' calculations, the 22,000 or so nuclear warheads in the U.S. nuclear arsenal require around 100 kg of tritium, or an average of 4.5 grams per warhead. About 5.5 percent of the tritium decays each year, so it is necessary to constantly replenish stocks of it. Unless the reactors at the Savannah River plant are started up, the Pentagon warns, 1,200 warheads will have to be "written off" each year. "This," R. Barker, assistant to the U.S. defense secretary for atomic energy, declared, "is tantamount to unilateral nuclear disarmament." Of course, it's impossible to conceive of anything worse than that!

All sorts of emergency fixes to rectify the situation are being discussed, from converting civilian reactors to military purposes, which would require the lifting of a special congressional ban, to purchasing tritium from U.S. allies (Canada, Britain, or France).

Experts are hinting more than transparently that there is yet another method: recovering the tritium from the warheads that are to be destroyed under the provisions of the expected treaty on 50-percent reductions in the USSR and U.S. nuclear arsenals. Skeptics immediately state that, first, the treaty is a long way from being finalized and, second, at best the warheads that are to be destroyed will yield enough tritium for 2 or 3 years. A serious debate is developing, and who knows whether the situation with regard to the tritium-producing reactors may not open up another "window of vulnerability," about which the current President talked so much 8 years ago. I would also remind you that in the 1956 presidential campaign there was talk of a U.S. bomber "gap," and in 1960 there was talk of a missile "gap." And now they are finally on the point to discovering a tritium "gap."

I don't think there is any need to remind you that, on closer examination, all the previous "gaps" proved to be elementary fakes.

Joint U.S. Medical Agreement Signed

LD1410084588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2240 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Washington, 14 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports: A protocol was signed in Washington on Thursday on the program for scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences [AMS] and the U.S. Institute of Medicine [IM]. The document was signed by Academician V.I.Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR AMS, and Samuel O. Thier, president of the U.S. IM. The protocol is a new step in implementing the agreement on scientific cooperation between the USSR AMS and the U.S. IM, signed in Moscow on 15 January 1988.

The protocol provides for an expansion of cooperation between the leading medical institutions of the two countries in four key areas of health care: prevention and treatment of poliomyelitis vaccines and research into the molecular epidemiology of poliomyelitis, study of the effect of ionizing radiation in the external environment on human health, and a study of problems of eliminating alcoholism and drug addiction. [passage omitted]

China

PRC Border Talks Delegation Leaves for Moscow

LD2010074488 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing October 20 TASS—Tian Zengpei, a deputy foreign minister of the People's Republic of China who leads the Chinese Government delegation to talks on border issues with the USSR, left for Moscow today to attend the third round of the negotiations.

The seeing-off party at the Beijing Airport included the Soviet ambassador to China, Oleg Troyanovskiy.

Arrives Moscow, Met by Rogachev

LD2010092188 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, October 20 TASS—A Chinese Government delegation led by Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, arrives in Moscow today for a third round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues.

At the airport the delegation was met by Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and other officials.

PRC Politico-economic Delegation Ends Visit

LD1310053888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] At the invitation of the All-Union Association of Sinologists, a delegation of the Chinese Association for International Understanding, with at its head (Chen

Yizhi), a distinguished social scientist and director of the Institute for the Reform of the PRC's Economic System, has visited the Soviet Union.

The delegation familiarized itself with the experience in carrying through the reform of the political system and with the economic mechanism in the USSR. The Chinese guests had meetings and conversations at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the presidium and institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and in party, local soviet and economic bodies. They visited Leningrad, Riga and Kiev.

Visit 'Complete Success'

OW1510223788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] The visit in the Soviet Union made by the first delegation from China's Association for International Understanding was a complete success, said (Chen Yizhi), vice chairman of the China Association for Study on Reforming the Political System, who was a leader of the delegation. The Chinese visitors, who came to the Soviet Union on 26 September at the invitation of the All-Union Association of Sinologsts, returned home on 11 October.

In an interview with TASS, (Chen Yizhi) said they had an open and above-board discussion with their Soviet counterparts on a wide variety of topics. They also had a thorough exchange of ideas on many important questions concerning reforms in the two countries.

Members of the delegation said they were impressed by the friendship and goodwill toward the Chinese people shown by the Soviet people everywhere they visited, as well as their interest in China's reform.

Radio Interviews PRC Farm Minister He Kang

OW1510115688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] As we have reported, a Chinese agricultural delegation, led by Agriculture Minister He Kang, is now visiting in our country. The guests from China have acquainted themselves with the reform of agroindustrial integration being carried out in our country and the problems encountered and achievements made in this production sector. The Chinese guests have visited collective and state farms in the Moscow suburbs, Leningrad Oblast, and Ukrainian and Estonian SSRs. They have also met and held talks with Soviet scholars and personnel in science research institutes, including the All-Union Leninist Agricultural Science Academy. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Agroindustrial Committee, received the Chinese delegation. The two sides held talks on developing economic-trade and scientific-technological cooperation in the field of agriculture and establishing direct contacts between the two countries' agricultural enterprises and organizations, and discussed the question of establishing joint agroindustrial enterprises in the border areas. Following the talks, a reporter from this station interviewed Chinese Agriculture Minister He Kang and asked him a few questions.

Comrade Minister, after a long interval, your visit is the first made by a leader of the Agricultural Ministry of China to our country. What is your impression?

[Begin He recording] My first impression is that the Soviet people have very friendly feelings for the Chinese people. Secondly, I feel the future is bright for our cooperation in the field of agriculture. [end recording]

What are the specific results of your current visit and your talks with Soviet comrades?

[Begin He recording] Specifically, during the current visit, we have signed an agricultural agreement and a plant protection and plant quarantine agreement between China and the Soviet Union. We have also signed a memorandum of the talks between the State Agroindustrial Committee and the Agriculture Ministry. In the talks, we decided to establish direct contacts and promote concrete cooperation in the fields of science, technology, and economy between the Agriculture Ministry of the People's Republic of China and the State Agroindustrial Committee of the USSR. The Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences will also establish direct contacts. We shall soon invite the All-Union Institute of Plant Cultivation to send a plant study group to make a study tour in our country. We also exchanged ideas on promoting mutual cooperation in growing soybeans, lumber logging and tanning, as well as joint ventures. We feel that the conclusion of the current visit marks a new beginning of our cooperation. We shall make efforts to implement our cooperation projects one by one. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to give my regards to the agricultural workers and comrades of all state and collective farms in the USSR, wishing them a good harvest and increased income. I also hope our mutual friendship and cooperation will grow every day. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Moscow Forum Seeks Better Japanese Relations

PM2010123588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference in Progress"]

[Text] "Through the new political thinking to stronger neighborliness and mutual understanding." This is the subject of the sixth "roundtable" conference of representatives of the Soviet and Japanese public, which has

opened in Moscow. The main organizers on the Soviet side are the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the "USSR-Japan" Society.

Over the next 3 days the conference participants will exchange opinions on issues encompassing the political, economic, scientific and technical, and cultural aspects of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and Soviet-Japanese relations. They will also discuss the problems of galvanizing "popular diplomacy," as a factor in the struggle to humanize and democratize international relations and establish an atmosphere of real good-neighborliness and trust between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The very first speeches given by participants in the meeting have shown that the tone and nature of the discussions are mainly going to be determined by the new Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Our countries belong to different social systems, Yu.M. Volmer, head of the Soviet delegation, a USSR minister and chairman of the "USSR-Japan" Society Central Board, said, and there are many problems, great and small, in relations between them. But despite all the differences and disagreements we can and must find points of contact that will help to guarantee equal security and mutually advantageous cooperation. This is precisely the aim of the proposals put forward by the Soviet leader in Krasnoyarsk in continuation of the Vladivostok proposals.

The head of the Japanese delegation, I. Sakurauchi, president of the Parliamentary Association of Japanese-Soviet Friendship, also mentioned the Krasnoyarsk initiatives. Japan, he said, welcomes the Soviet Union's demarches with respect to the Asia-Pacific region. Like the Soviet Union, we want to see an improvement in bilateral relations based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. Japan and the Soviet Union have enormous possibilities in all areas of cooperation and certain progress has been made in some already. However, I. Sakurauchi believes, this is clearly not enough. We have to move on to more decisive practical action. In this connection he indicated the great hopes that his country attaches to the forthcoming visit to Japan by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, in December this year.

The two countries' public must also play an important role in improving relations between our states and the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole. This, in particular, was eloquently expressed in the messages of welcome addressed to the conference by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita.

Japanese Examine Krasnoyarsk Initiatives

PM1410180088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Agafonov report: "Dialogue Is Necessary, But There Are Subtleties..."]

[Text]Tokyo—The new peace initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk are still at the center of attention among the Japanese mass media and political experts. Views differ both in general and on each specific point, but for the most part they are positive, though not complimentary.

The main emphasis, and this is evidently natural, is on those points in the speech that were devoted directly to Japan. The USSR's readiness to develop dialogue with the Japanese side is welcomed by everyone, many proposals are emerging on this point, and people are scrupulously examining the subtext of the Krasnoyarsk speech and the hints of radical changes in Soviet policy, although these endeavors are sometimes motivated by nothing more than the desire to find out more than was said and say more than was mentioned.

The interpretation game is always more amusing than giving clear answers to specific questions. So doubtless we should not judge analysts here too harshly for this. But all the same, it is striking that for the most part the discussions concern the principles—the spirit of the speech, the general thrust of the initiatives, the consistency in the USSR's policy and the marked growth in interest in the Asian and Pacific region, and so on, and so forth, but the expansive phrases immediately become curtailed when it comes to a reaction to the proposals formulated in Krasnoyarsk. This applies, in particular, to the third point in the program, which concerns lowering military confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are close together, with a view to the freezing and balanced lowering of the levels of naval and air forces and the limitation of their activeness.

The shades of opinions on this point diverge, but the crux of the argument is that no good will come of this if the United States, or rather its military presence in the region, is left out. ASAHI simply writes that without this, detente will not take place in the Asian and Pacific region. YOMIURI is more frank, emphasizing that Japan's security depends directly on the might of the U.S. Navy, a weakening of which would tip the scales of the strategic balance in favor of the USSR. Thus the idea of multilateral consultations among the littoral countries is in effect torpedoed.

In this context there is a great vogue for facts and figures from Pentagon press releases and quotations from Japanese spokesmen at various levels, which can be used to block anything you like. Thus, for instance, the marked reduction in the Soviet Navy's activeness in the Asian and Pacific region since 1986 is interpreted not as good

will on the part of the Soviet Union, but as a revision of the strategic concept in the region, oriented toward strengthening the ground forces. At the same time, the thesis about the growth of the might of the Soviet Navy, which supposedly holds special priorities in Moscow's military doctrine, is always at hand. Manipulating these mutually exclusive arguments is a matter of pure technique, and you will not find a better way of evading a discussion of the substance of the matter.

As a result the impression is that the third point in the Kranoyarsk program has not met with due interest in official circles, at least not today. What is far more important for the Japanese side is the territorial problem, which they place in the forefront here and to which they reduce virtually all the arguments about the future of Soviet-Japanese relations and the situation in the Asian and Pacific region in general. But despite the fixation on the territorial issue, many items in the mass media increasingly frequently appeal to official Tokyo to amend Japanese policy with regard to the USSR, revise the wait-and-see tactics, and respond to the flexibility of the Soviet position with an equally flexible approach. It is noteworthy that this premise is backed up by the idea of the need for Japan to work out its own foreign policy course, without looking over its shoulder at the United States.

Will these appeals be heard? One would like to believe that this time will not be too far off.

Korean Situation Viewed on 40th Anniversary
PM1310135188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Ganshin article: "USSR-DPRK: Commitment To a Common Cause"]

[Text] On 12 October 1948 an event took place which is being celebrated today in Pyongyang and Moscow. Forty years ago—a month after the proclamation of the DPRK—the Soviet Union became the first state to officially recognize the birth of a people's democratic state in the north of the Korean peninsula and establish diplomatic relations with it.

All these years both countries, guided by common foreign policy principles, have invariably struggled for a just solution to the problems of the Korean peninsula, where the tension created immediately after the end of World War II by the United States is still maintained by that country today. The many U.S. bases and arms dumps in South Korean territory, which include nuclear arms dumps, have been and remain a serious threat to regional and global security.

Numerous efforts by the DPRK to solve the problem of unifying the two halves of the peninsula by peaceful means have invariably come up against opposition from Washington and Seoul. The pretexts used over the years to frustrate the settlement of this problem have varied. But the end result has always been the same: The dangerous tension, often spilling over into acts of armed provocation against the North and mutual mistrust and suspicion, persists; the possibility of unifying the country has not really made any progress at all; and the problems of humanitarian contact between people and relatives divided by the wall along the 38th parallel have not been solved.

Apart from creating a situation favorable to solving the problem of unification, defusing the tension in the Korean peninsula would make it possible to considerably reduce the danger of the outbreak of a regional conflict which, if it did break out, considering the presence of nuclear weapons in the south of the peninsula, would carry the threat of unpredictable consequences. That is why, as a Pacific state, the Soviet Union invariably supports DPRK initiatives to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone and a zone of cooperation rather than conflict.

The new political thinking, which is forging a path for itself with growing confidence in various corners of the world, is even making some changes to the policies of the South Korean authorities. Under powerful pressure from democratic forces, students, and social organizations, the Blue House has been forced to take certain steps to meet DPRK initiatives halfway, particularly with regard to holding bilateral dialogue. Nevertheless, the first contacts—which have taken place in the border village of Panmunjom—have shown that there is still a long way to go before fundamental decisions can be reached. First of all, as the North Korean side rightly believes, the dialogue must pursue a quite specific basic aim—the peaceful unification of the country, with the preservation of the sociopolitical systems currently existing in the two parts of Korea. It is no less important to ensure that the meetings are as open and as broad as possible—in other words, that representatives of all strata of society from both sides of the demarcation line take part. And, finally, the discussion must definitely include military-political issues, including the drafting of a non-aggression pact between North and South.

The DPRK initiatives recently proposed by Pyongyang could serve as the basis for the practical realization of these tasks. For example, the DPRK Government has offered a proposal supported by political parties and organizations in the republic on a phased reduction of North Korean and South Korean armed forces, the gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops and their nuclear weapons from South Korea, and the elimination of U.S. military bases in the south of the Korean peninsula. Having announced this idea, at the end of last year Pyongyang undertook the unilateral demobilization of 100,000 Korean People's Army servicemen.

In confirmation of its readiness for summit-level negotiations between North and South to solve the problem of the nation's unification, the DPRK has also proposed work within the framework of a tripartite forum, in which

U.S. representatives would also take part. Pyongyang recently made another proposal to the U.S. Congress of talks aimed at replacing the armistice agreement with a peace agreement. The removal of the threat of war, the elimination of the state of military confrontation, the cessation of the annual, large-scale U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" military exercises, and the reaching of arms reduction agreements could help to build mutual contacts, exchanges, and trade and lead to increased trust and, ultimately, to national reconciliation.

The proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk could serve as a powerful incentive for further improvement in the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly the idea of discussing on a multilateral basis the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the Soviet, PRC, Japanese, DPRK, and South Korean shorelines are in close proximity to one another; with a view to freezing and achieving a balanced reduction of the levels of naval and air forces and limiting their activity. From a historical viewpoint, it seems as if not much time has passed since Vladivostok. But it is already clear that positive trends have begun to appear in the complex and contradictory Asia-Pacific region. Time will tell how far they develop. In any event there is no shortage of initiatives on the part of the DPRK and the Soviet Union—two countries which, with the establishment of diplomatic relations 40 years ago, declared foreign policy principles by which they continue to be guided for the sake of preserving peace and strengthening security.

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Presents Report at PDPA Plenum

LD1910184788 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 19 TASS—A plenary meeting of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee was held here today. Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, president of the Republic, made a detailed report at the plenum. He dwelt, in part, on the military-political situation in the country and urgent measures taken by the PDPA to implement the national reconciliation policy. The president's speech drew strong interest.

Daud Razmier, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, secretary of the Kabul city committee of the party, delivered a report on stepping up the activity of party and state bodies to ensure the security of the Afghan capital.

Speakers at the plenum also included Muhammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee and minister of communications, and Mir Saheb Karwal, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the report of the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and other questions discussed, and also a resolution on the role and place of the Democratic Organisation of the Afghan Youth in enacting the national reconciliation policy.

The plenum discussed organisational matters. Saleh Muhammad Ziray and 'Abdulzohur Razmjo were relieved of their duties as members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat.

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani Overflight

LD1910193488 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 19 TASS—Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim in Afghanistan has been summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry where a protest was declared to him over another violation of the Geneva agreements.

BAKHTAR news agency reported that a Pakistani Air Force plane at 9:45 a.m. local time on October 13 crossed the border with Afghanistan in the area of Lakatir and made a reconnaissance flight over Paktia Province.

The Afghan Government strongly protested to the Pakistani Government and demanded an end to such actions contradicting the principles of goodneighborliness and generally recognized international norms.

Rebel Activity Continues in Kabul, Provinces

Missiles Fired on Jalalabad

LD1810112388 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 18 TASS—A new crime against civilian population of Nangarhar Province has been committed against intransigent opposition. On Sunday extremists fired surface-to-surface missiles on the administrative centre of the province, the city of Jalalabad, killing three people and heavily wounding five people, including children.

Units of government troops carried out an operation to rout extremist detachments that had entrenched themselves in the province. The insurgents sustained serious losses in manpower.

Security personnel foiled an attempt by oppositionists to rocket Kabul. Over the past 24 hours security personnel discovered 20 missiles, aimed at the Afghan capital, in Shakar Darra District, and rendered them harmless.

The BAKHTAR news agency reported that Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) had conferred with the commanders of IPA

detachments operating in Qandahar Province. Specifically, he had instructed the subordinates to fire not less than 100 rockets on Qandahar every day. In response to that, two commanders, Haji Azimuddin and Saifullah—stated that they would execute the order only if Gulbuddin sends his family to the city. They firmly refused to rocket populated areas from now on.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent the 102nd protest note to the U.N. observer mission in Kabul. The note mentions facts of violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Combat in Nangarhar, Herat

LD1910173988 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 19 TASS—Operations of the government troops against detachments of the armed opposition that rejects the national reconciliation policy are going on in various provinces of Afghanistan. One of the units of the "Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" operating along a transport route that connects Shir Khan and the Chichka District of Konduz Province suffered a crushing defeat last Monday. 50 rebels were killed and 6 taken prisoner during the operation. Units of the Afghan Army engaged in combat operations in the provinces of Nangarhar and Herat.

Present-day developments in Afghanistan show that the armed opposition is persistently trying to maintain tension in the country using any means at their disposal and to disrupt the attempts of the Afghan authorities to find mutually acceptable compromises with a view to establishing peace. The extremists are using various methods and ways, including the most cruel and inhuman ones. Thus, they again brought under rocket fire the administrative centres of the provinces of Nangarhar and Paktia on Tuesday. Three people were killed by rocket explosions in the streets of Jalalabad and Gardeyz.

Rebels from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" brought from Pakistan to the suburbs of Mehtarlam, Laghman Province, toxic agents in pills which they intend to use against servicemen from the units of the Afghan Army deployed in that area. Heads of the irreconcilable opposition decided recently to stage a large- scale act of economic subversion. They plan to smuggle to Afghanistan false banknotes to the sum of four billion afghanis and to buy up food and other necessaries for the purpose of artificially creating acute shortage of them. At the same time, they are planning combat operations for preventing the transportation of food to Kabul and other cities.

Heads of the rebels in Konarha Province decided to create in the province a so-called "Islamic Revolutionary Council" which is to include representatives of all the opposition parties under the aegis of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan". The council is supposed to exercise control over the province and to coordinate combat operations of opposition forces.

The armed opposition forces intensified their activities in Herat Province as well. Ismail, leader of the units of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan", reiterated the intention of the rebels to capture the city of Herat immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. According to the information possessed by the Afghan competent bodies, a group of foreign advisers that came through Iranian territory joined the detachments of Ismail. They brought to the insurgents a consignment of radio stations and knives with capsules filled with poison. Extremists operating in Herat killed several days ago Abdul Shokur Jahed, a prominent clergyman of the province who had invariably supported the national reconciliation policy.

A group of five British advisers came to the Sorkhab District, Lowgar Province.

Western countries, primarily the United States, continue to actively support the Afghan armed opposition. According to the competent bodies, representatives of the U.S. Administration handed over to the Peshawar-based counterrevolutionary units over 165 million dollars, as well as large consignments of weapons for the "irreconcilable" operating on Afghan territory.

Qandahar Activity Described

LD1910225288 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Afghanistan's southern province of Qandahar, which borders on Pakistan, is now one of the "hottest" areas in the country.

After Soviet troops withdrew from Qandahar early in August, armed opposition groups invigorated combat actions with a view to seizing the strategic province.

In summer, the rebels, supported by artillery and even army units of Pakistan's Armed Forces, launched an attack on the border town of Spin Buldak. But their plans were thwarted by defenders of the district centre. Now, according to reports, the opposition has taken control of the district.

At the same time, the enemy failed to fulfil its main task—capturing Qandahar. The rebels several times fixed dates for assaulting and seizing the provincial centre—August 15 and 31, October 14.

The city is rocketed practically every day. But the extremists' plans have been foiled. They lost hundreds of men in fighting against governmental troops and volunteer detachments.

Afghan soldiers have killed more than 300 rebels, including 10 leaders of anti-governmental groups, since the end of September.

Having met with a growing resistance of the population, many opposition groups are giving up active combat actions. According to BAKHTAR news agency, about 70 armed groups are now maintaining neutrality in the province. These changes in the rebels' sentiments made their foreign patrons take a number of steps to invigorate their armed activities.

About 500 Pakistani regulars and some 30 advisers were sent to Qandahar to support the rebels. Huge funds were allocated for stimulating the oppositionists. They are paid big sums of money for each day of fighting and for wounds. Families of those killed are paid money too.

The months that have passed since the Soviet troop withdrawal have shown that the opposition now enjoys much less support of the population than before.

One of Qandahar's elders, Sultan-Jan, told BAKHTAR that "the war has brought so many victims and so much destruction that not a single patriot of this country wants its continuation". He said efforts should now be channelled into economic reconstruction rather than war since "the people are living in awful conditions and lack essentials".

"Pakistan and Western countries must know that Afghans don't want the bloodshed to continue and that outside interference leads to its continuation," he said.

Afghan Vice President Abdul Rahim Hatif, in a TASS interview, voiced the same idea. He said the rebels were no longer able to recruit more people in Qandahar. This is why they had to resort to foreign aid and use up-to-date weapons in order not to lose combat ability.

Recently, the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan", Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, visited Qandahar but failed to mobilise the population for struggle against the government, hatif said.

The vice president pointed out that, on returning to Pakistan, Hikmatyar failed to recruit rebel detachments from among refugees coming from southern areas of Afghanistan.

According to recent reports from Qandahar, Afghan troops routed a group of "irreconcilables" in the area of Tahkteh Pul and a detachment of rebels, who rocketed Qandahar, on Monday. About 100 rebels were killed or wounded and 11 enemy fortifications seized in the operations.

Israelis, PLO Officials Meet in Belgrade

LD1910193088 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 19 TASS—A meeting was held here the other day between representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Israeli Progressive List for Peace party. The Palestine delegation at the talks was headed by Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu Mazin), member of the PLO Executive Committee, the Israeli—by Matti Peled and Muhammad Mu'ari deputies of the Knesset (parliament), TANJUG news agency reported. They discussed the possible creation of an independent Palestinian state in the territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The meeting in Belgrade confirmed that the Israeli Progressive List for Peace party supports the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and creation of an independent state.

Al-Tayyib 'Abd al-Rahim, permanent representative of the PLO in Belgrade, stressed in a TANJUG interview that the Israeli side as represented by Peled and Mu'ari pointed out that the PLO is the sole lawful defender of the Palestinian people's rights and that this organisation should participate on an equal footing in an international conference on the Middle East. The parties to the talks were unanimous that such a conference is the optimum way to settle the Middle Eastern conflict, TANJUG reports.

Polyakov Interviewed on Near East Policy

PM1910102088 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 13 Oct 88 p 19

[Interview with Vladimir Polyakov, head of the Near Eastern Countries Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, by Dominique Lagarde in Paris; date not given]

[Text] LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Do you think the Near East peace process can be revived in the near future, and how?

Vladimir Polyakov: I think the situation is now favorable for reviving the peace process. We think that the Palestinian problem is at the heart of the Israeli-Arab conflict, in other words the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the creation of its own state.

The only mechanism we regard as conceivable is an international conference. This conference must bring together representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, in other words Israel, the PLO, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, and the five permanent Security Council members. We think that the PLO's participation is vital for finding a solution to the Palestinian problem. We want preparations to be started for this peace process, either through bilateral contacts or through consultations among the five permanent Security Council members. We advocate the formation of a preparatory

committee including the five permanent Security Council members—an idea which was launched during President Mitterrand's visit to the USSR in July 1986.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: What are the main stumbling blocks to agreement between you and the Americans on this conference proposal?

Vladimir Polyakov: It is the Shultz plan which presents the U.S. position in the most complete way. This plan does not mention the Palestinians' right to self-determination and to a state. It does not make provision for the PLO's participation in the negotiations, and it gives priority to direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. We think that, in view of the complexity of the Israeli-Arab conflict, it is necessary for multilateral commissions to be created in the framework of the conference which would tackle, in particular, the question of guarantees to be provided for the security of all states.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Do you think the conference should have the power to impose solutions on the parties concerned if they fail to reach agreement?

Vladimir Polyakov: Nobody must impose his view or opinion on anybody. If talks in the framework of a bilateral commission break down on a particular problem, the participants must be able to turn to the plenary session or to the five permanent Security Council members, whose role should be to facilitate the search for a solution. The aim is to provide help.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Do you think that it is realistic to hope to be able to convene an international conference with the PLO's participation while the PLO has not officially recognized Israel?

Vladimir Polyakov: The PLO is currently drawing up a political program following the decision by Jordan's King Husayn to break administrative and legal links with the West Bank. It is trying to find carefully considered and balanced solutions based on a realistic view of the situation.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: When you have contacts with the Palestinians, do you encourage them, as France does, to move toward recognition of Israel?

Vladimir Polyakov: We encourage the Palestinians to ensure that their political program is as realistic and flexible as possible. It goes without saying that we recognize Israel and Resolution 242 as the basis for a territorial settlement in the Near East. We are saying the same thing to all.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Do you think the formation of a Palestinian government in exile could help the peace process?

Vladimir Polyakov: If, after a detailed analysis of the Near East situation and reactions from the countries concerned, the Palestinians decide that such a decision will help the peace process, it will be their decision. We are drawing their attention to the need to first make a very accurate assessment of the situation, and the risks and advantages of such a decision.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Your relations with Israel have improved considerably over the past few months. In what circumstances could there be a resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and Moscow?

Vladimir Polyakov: The problem of restoring diplomatic relations between us and Israel can be taken into consideration in the context of the start of an international conference. It can be considered as soon as there is a prospect of equitable solutions.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: During your talks in Paris, have you discussed the French proposal for holding the Lebanese presidential election with international monitoring? What do you think of this proposal?

Vladimir Polyakov: We have discussed the Lebanese situation with our French interlocutors. We are in favor of maintaining Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity and have expressed our concern over the current situation. We think the new Lebanese president should be elected in accordance with the present Lebanese Constitution. With regard to the French proposal, which aims at involving the United Nations, it is a tricky matter in that it amounts to internationalizing an event—a presidential election—which is an internal matter in all countries. We must see what reactions the various political parties in Lebanon have.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Meanwhile, which of the two present governments do you recognize, the one led by Salim al-Huss or the one led by Michel 'Awn?

Vladimir Polyakov: In Moscow we have dealings with the Lebanese ambassador. In Beirut, the Soviet ambassador deals with the Foreign Ministry and, as you know, that ministry has headquarters in both West Beirut and East Beirut.

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: Iran and Iraq have finally accepted a cease-fire, but negotiations are marking time. What do you think of this situation?

Vladimir Polyakov: The main problem is the lack of confidence between the two sides. After an 8-year war, it is not surprising that there is great distrust between the two countries. We knew it would not be easy. The fact that the guns are silent should make it possible to get a process going. The important thing is to ensure that the cease-fire holds. We obviously support the UN secretary general's efforts to bring about a resumption of negotiations.

Bessmertnykh Receives YAR Deputy Premier

PM1710124388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] On 13 October a meeting took place between A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, and H. Makki, deputy prime minister of the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), who is in the Soviet Union as head of a delegation of the YAR Council for Peace and Solidarity.

H. Makki conveyed a personal message from YAR President 'A.'A. Salih to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During the conversation the sides expressed satisfaction with the successful development of friendly Soviet-North Yemeni relations, which are based on the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed by the two countries in 1984. They noted that cooperation between the USSR and the YAR is in the interests of both countries' peoples and is an important factor of peace and stability in the region.

The sides exchanged opinions on several topical international problems and discussed the situation in the Near and Middle East in particular.

'A.'U. Muhammad, YAR ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan President To Visit USSR 27-29 Oct

LD2010023888 Moscow TASS in English 2234 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, will pay a brief working visit to the Soviet Union on October 27-29 at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

South African Leaders' Diplomatic Activity

PM1910101988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent B. Pilyatskin report under rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "What Will Come After the Talking?"]

[Text] Port Elizabeth—South African television has reported that President P. Botha and Foreign Minister R. Botha are to make a 3-hour stopover in the Ivory Coast at the end of their visit to Switzerland and hold talks with President F. Houphouet-Boigny.

This meeting is being seen in the context of continuing diplomatic activity by Pretoria, which is in favor of a broad African summit conference in which it would take part. However, Zimbabwean President R. Mugabe and Zambian President K. Kaunda have both rejected this possibility for themselves, emphasizing that their relations with the RSA remain unchanged.

As far as the visit to Geneva is concerned, the South African press notes that although it is a private visit the whole of the past week has been spent on intensive negotiations with representatives of West European banks and industrial circles with the aim of attracting capital to the RSA, despite the international sanctions. An Afrikaans newspaper published in Port Elizabeth has noted that there are hopeful signs that investments will be resumed.

While President P. Botha has been holding these negotiations, it has become known that his foreign minister has made secret visits to one or two countries. "We are very satisfied with the results of all the meetings we have had," he said in a television interview. "They have exceeded all our expectations." These are the words, and now we will have to see what real steps Pretoria takes in the near future in the direction of easing tension in the region and settling the Namibian problem.

Commentary on Botha's 'Shuttle Diplomacy'

LD1810053188 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The leaders of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Tanzaia—countries which make up the organisation of frontline states—are having a conference today in the Botswanan capital of Gaberone. As the Gaberone newspaper REPORTER reports, at the top of the agenda is the progress of the talks on normalizing the situation in Southwest Africa and the question of Pieter Botha's so-called political offensive in the light of South Africa's unceasing threats to its neighbors.

Our commentator Vladimir Grigoryev writes:

All issues are interconnected in one way or another. Take, for example, Botha's diplomatic activity in Africa. In the last few weeks, the South African president has met the leaders of Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire, and, last Sunday, the president of the Ivory Coast. On the one hand, the purpose of such meetings is the establishment of direct contacts with the African leaders. However, beyond attempts to break out of South Africa's political isolation, there is another aspect to Botha's so-called shuttle diplomacy. The leader of the apartheid state is attempting to persuade the African leaders to hold a regional meeting, with South African participation, to discuss the questions of peace, security, and cooperation among the countries of the region. It should be noted that he seeks to pass his idea off as an initiative from the

African leaders, even though he knows very well that many of the African leaders have rejected the very notion of such a meeting. [passage omitted]

While making big pronouncements on peace and neighborliness, the Pretoria authorities make no bones about resorting to direct threats against neighboring countries. Only recently they openly threatened reprisals against Botswana and Zimbabwe if they continue to give shelter to the antiapartheid fighters. With the justification of the municipal elections to be held in South Africa on 26 October, regular troops and special punitive units have been placed in a high state of alert, not just in the major urban centers but also on the northern borders with Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Finally, there is a further angle to Botha's shuttle diplomacy: He is trying to prevail on the African leaders to bring pressure to bear on the Angolan Government to hold talks with the terrorist group UNITA and subsequently to enter into a coalition with the said group. This question is being heard with increasing frequency and loudness at the quadripartite talks on normalizing the situation. And it is no longer—or not so much—the question of the timetable for the Cuban troop withdrawal that is delaying the talks, but rather the pressure on the Angolan leadership concerning a coalition with UNITA. Angola's position on this issue is well known and unchangeable. This is why Botha is trying to use the prestige of the African heads of state to further his own goals.

In short, enough problems and issues have arisen to justify the conference of the frontline heads of state.

African National Congress Head Meets Press

MB0910204688 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1830 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Secretary General Alfred Nzo met with the Soviet press and other personalities at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee offices on the South African situation. This is what he said:

[Begin Nzo recording, in English fading into Zulu translation] First, I wish to express my happiness over the opportunity to speak at a gathering of the activists of this Soviet organization. We have been in the Soviet Union for 4 weeks now, and we were attended to in the Crimea where we rested and gathered new strength for our struggle to free South Africa. There was no repite. Problems continued unabated, especially at home in South Africa. We in the liberation struggle keep abreast of what is happening on other parts of this earth, as this world is one, and events are interrelated.

Still of primary importance in our struggle in South Africa is that we relay our views on the government's municipal elections. This is important to our people and even to the apartheid regime. The government is determined to continue with its treachery by hoodwinking the world into thinking that there is a change for the better in the political arena and that people are being given an opportunity to participate in electing their own leaders, but this has no effect. The government is doing this to restore ground it lost in the past few years. It is well known that during these years, in many black areas, there has been an uprising against apartheid and racism, and the government's bastions and puppets have been shaken. The people eliminated these bastions of power and puppets, and street committees have taken over. It is a fact that opportunities to lay the foundation for true governing power by the indigenous people of this country have become available. The government has tried unsuccessfully for a long time to restore its power bases in black areas. The government is doing all it can to restore them and rule again as before in these areas and to have them carry out its superficial reform. The government has no real interest in resolving this nation's real problems. The aim is to strengthen the apartheid regime's base, and people are being deceived into thinking that one day their problems in this country will be resolved.

The people themselves have time and again reiterated that their problems will only cease with the eradication of South Africa's apartheid government. The regime can never change its spots and become acceptable to the people of South Africa, and, therefore, all who are determined to be free have stood firm against apartheid, and all nationalities in South Africa are urged to boycott the October municipal elections. [end recording]

East Europe

LCY Central Committee Plenum Ends 18 Oct

90 Debaters Consider Tasks

PM1910151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA, TASS correspondents Ye. Fadeyev, A. Bocharov, and V. Kuznetsov: "LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct—The LCY Central Committee 17th plenum ended today in the "Sava Center" Palace of Congresses.

Nearly 90 people took the floor during the debate on LCY Central Committee Presidium Chairman S. Suvar's report on Communists' current tasks in the light of the complex situation in the country. One idea ran like a scarlet thread through all the speeches—critical, frank, polemical, trenchant, emotional: the need to increase the responsibility of the LCY and of every Communist for the solution of tasks of vital importance for society and the party.

The chief cause of the crisis in the SFRY, the Communists noted, is the inconsistent and intolerably slow implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress and the recent conference of the LCY. It is the duty of Communists to take the lead in implementing the reform of the economic and political system and changing LCY work style and methods. It was stated openly and self-critically at the plenum that no decisive advance has yet been made in the economy or in surmounting the obstacles in the way of the development of a socialist society built on self-management principles.

The plenum participants stressed that the reform in three areas—the economy, the political system, and the party—is a comprehensive reform whereby Yugoslav socialism will begin to overcome the crisis in society and get rid of ideological and theoretical dogmas and bad decisions.

A resolution was adopted on LCY tasks to overcome the adverse economic, political, and social situation in Yugoslavia.

The plenum set up an LCY Central Committee commission to carry out transformations in the LCY.

The LCY Central Committee plenum confirmed that a vigorous search is under way for solutions to very important questions concerning the life of the party and the people.

Work of Plenum Viewed

LD2010074388 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 20 TASS—Today the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) ended its deliberations at the Palace of Congresses called Sava Center.

Its participants centred on problems hampering the development of society and having a negative influence on stabilization of the situation in the country. Some 90 people took the floor at the plenum during the three days of its work. The key-note of all speeches was: It is necessary to raise responsibility of the LCY and of each Communist for the solution of tasks, vitally important for society and the party. A decision taken by the plenum on asks to overcome the unfavourable economic, political and social situation in the country will be the basis for further work of the party.

Plenum participants examined the question on personnel changes at the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium and commissions. Substantiating proposals on the need for personnel changes in the party leadership, Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said that that was not "a purge" but a replacement of a third of Central Committee members of the present composition between the two congresses, which conformed to the party rules.

The plenary meeting approved the resignation of Presidium members of the LCY Central Committee Bosko Krunic, Milanko Renovica, Kolj Siroka and Franc Setinc and met a reuqest of Brosko Kurnic to relieve him of the duties of a member of the LCY Central Committee. A decision was taken to set up a working group which will study, on a proposal of the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of Serbia, a question on a responsibility of Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka and Svetislav Dolasevic, leaders of Kosovo Autonomous Province, and their expulsion from the LCY Central Committee.

At the initiative of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committee held a secret vote of confidence to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee as a whole and to each member in particular. Confidence was expressed to all members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee but Dusan Ckrebic. The latter addressed the plenum with a request to relieve him of his duties of a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. A proposal was approved to discuss his resignation at a regular plenary meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

'Problems' on Agenda

LD1910211388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1718 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the "International Diary" Program presented by Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] The pulse of the internal political life in Yugoslavia is beating tensely. The country is encountering complex economic problems—inflation and a sizeable foreign debt. The situation is aggravated by the state of affairs in Kosovo, where there has been no success in solving in a fitting way the ethnic problem, in particular to reconcile the Serbs with the Yugoslav citizens of Albanian origin.

All these issues appear on the agenda of the session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Despite the entire complexity of the situation, the party leadership of the country is, nonetheless, full of resolve to at least halt the worsening of the economic situation and to strengthen the population's confidence in the possibility of resolving the nationality problems.

PRAVDA Announces Visit of Polish Premier

PM1910121788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

["Concerning the Forthcoming Visit to the USSR by Polish Council of Ministers Chairman M. Rakowski"]

[Text] It has been agreed that Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, will pay a friendly working visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of the third 10-day period of October 1988.

Soviet 'Confidence' in Visit

LD1910231588 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, arrives in Moscow today on a friendly working visit.

Soviet people welcome him cordially and express confidence that the visit will facilitate the further development and strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and Poland and between the Soviet and Polish peoples.

Poland's Orzechowski Ends USSR Visit

LD1610214888 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 16—Member of Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski paid a working visit to the USSR between October 12 and 16 at the invitation of CPSU CC.

On the first day of his stay, Orzechowski met with Political Bureau member, CPSU CC Secretary Vadim Medvedev. The two exchanged ideas concerning issues connected with perestroyka in the USSR and renewal in Poland and with development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in science and ideology.

Oct. 13, Orzechowski met with president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk who briefed the Polish guest on the academy's contribution to the process of restructuring of Soviet society and state. The parties discussed also the directions of Polish-Soviet scientific cooperation.

On the same day, Orzechowski met also with the authorities of the CPSU CC Academy of Social Sciences. He held a lecture for the staff of the academy, presenting the state of preparations for the theoretical and ideological conference of PUWP. Then, Orzechowski met with the editors of the CPSU CC theoretical and political journal KOMMUNIST, and visited Lomonosov State University in Moscow where he met with the president of the university, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Logunov.

Marian Orzechowski paid a visit to Novosibirsk between October 14 and 15. During his stay he met with first Secretary of the CPSU District Committee V. Kozarevov.

Next, Marian Orzechowski visited a campus of the Siberian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

On the second day of his stay in Novosibirsk Marian Orzechowski took part in a seminar for ideological and propaganda activists of the region. He briefed the meeting on the situation in Poland and answered many questions.

At the end of his visit Marian Orzechowski went to the Novosibirsk Electrotechnical Institute—one of the biggest technical colleges in the Soviet Union. He met with the school's authorities and staff.

On the last day of his stay in the Soviet Union Marian Orzechowski visited the Danilov Monastery in Moscow—the seat of the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. He was received by Archimandrite O. Tikhon who informed the Polish guest about the course of the recent observances to mark the 1000th anniversary of Russia's baptism.

Karpov: No Plan of Troop Withdrawal From Hungary

AU2010111388 Budapest MAGYRAR HIPLAP in Hungarian 19 Oct 88 pp 1,2

[MTI report: "Karpov Denies Troop Withdrawal Plan"]

[Text] In an interview for the French daily LE FIGARO, the leading Soviet disarmament expert Viktor Karpov described Soviet concepts for the reduction of conventional arms. Viktor Karpov denied Western rumors that the Soviet Union was preparing a unilateral withdrawal of its troops from Hungary.

Viktor Karpov said in his interview that the Soviet side envisages a three-stage reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. In the first stage, the countries in Europe would provide information about the national and foreign military forces stationed on their territory, including their weapons. According to the Soviet view, this stage could last 1 to 2 years.

The second stage would have to be prepared during this time, in which the two military blocks would reduce their armed forces and arms by 500,000 troops each. In the third stage, the Warsaw Pact and the NATO would further reduce their armed forces to a level in which neither of them would be able to start a surprise attack or conduct offensive military action against the other.

The Soviet Union has already proposed to the 35 countries participating in the CSCE conference that they establish a risk-control center in Europe to assist this plan.

"I will not hide the fact that our proposal has not been received favorably in Paris"—Karpov added. "There is no such thing as a unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops, as the Western press claims we intend to do in Hungary. The future negotiations will also deal with our troops stationed in Hungary."

CPSU Workers Delegation Visits Hungary

PM1810092988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU workers headed by Yu. I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, was in Hungary 10 through 15 October in accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the MSZMP. The Soviet party workers were acquainted with the Hungarian friends' experience in organizing foreign economic ties in the agro-industrial complex. The delegation was received by M. Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Joint Military Exercise Continues in GDR

LD1910191088 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin October 19 TASS—Troops from the group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic are continuing a joint military exercise. In keeping with the document of the Stockholm conference, 33 observers from 17 CSCE countries arrived in the area of the exercise today at the invitation of the GDR Government.

Honecker, Stoph Thank Soviet Leaders for Message

PM1810153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message of thanks from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willy Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, we cordially thank you for your fraternal greetings and congratulations marking the 39th anniversary of the formation of the GDR.

We are delighted by your greeting's recognition of the successes achieved by our country's working people in all spheres of public life and its high assessment of the GDR's policy geared toward ensuring peace and good-neighborliness. Our recent important meeting in Moscow has still further consolidated the good friendship and solidarity between our parties, states, and peoples. We have determined together the future direction of the development of the comprehensive and fruitful relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that these relations will reach an even higher level. Relying on the community of our views on fundamental questions of foreign policy and socialist building, we will continue to cooperate closely for the sake of our peoples.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the Communists and all the working people of the Soviet Union successes in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the interests of socialism and peace.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Leningrad Party Delegation Arrives in Bulgaria

LD1910194588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, 19 Oct (TASS)—A delegation of the Leningrad party organization arrived in Plovdiv today at the invitation of the BCP Okrug Committee. The delegation is headed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom.

At the airport the delegation was met by P. Pachkov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug Committee, by S. Krustenova, chairman of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, and by other leaders of the okrug and city.

Among the welcoming party was A.A. Inzhiyevskiy, consul-general of the USSR in Plovdiv.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Views Moscow Economic Talks

AU1310204088 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 13 Oct 88

["Bulgaro-Soviet Economic Panel Meets"—BTA headline]

[Text] Moscow, October 13 (BTA correspondent)—The Intergovernmental Bulgaro-Soviet Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation held its 32nd session in Moscow on October 12 and 13.

The Bulgarian delegation to the session was led by Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign economic

relations of Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union was represented by a delegation headed by Mr Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Commenting on the results of the session before this correspondent, Mr Andrey Lukanov made a special point of the fact that it came at a time of vigorous change in the forms and in the content of Bulgaro-Soviet economic cooperation. This change stems from the restructuring in the two countries' sociopolitical life and, most of all, from the reforms in their economic mechanism.

Mr Andrey Lukanov emphasized that in Bulgaria and the USSR there is perhaps the clearest awareness that, despite its undeniable achievements, the integration model used so far is already drained and that a fundamentally new model is needed.

He went on to say that restructuring already finds expression in the new forms of cooperation. The commission has found that they already involve some 280 enterprises and organisations in each country. A total of 220 direct contacts have been established, eight joint ventures, 26 international associations and 29 international organisations have been set up. The commercial exchanges within these new forms are planned to reach an overall volume approximating 300 million roubles. For the first time in the practice of cooperation within the socialist community, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have established a joint credit institution, Bulsovinvest, and a bilateral chamber of commerce and industry as a horizontal integration agency.

It was pointed out at the session that the work on the direct contact mechanism is still at an early stage and that comprehensive definitive rules still cannot be formulated on the basis of the initial experience. A prospect for the establishment of a common Bulgaro-Soviet market emerges in the future. Mr Andrey Lukanov emphasized that this will be a long process, as the matter has yet to receive sufficient theoretical elucidation, but even at this stage specific measures can and should be taken to shape the common features of that market.

The respective national markets should be gradually opened up ever more widely to the economic organisations, a trade without quotas should be promoted, the currency convertibility agreements should be implemented, especially in respect to direct contacts. Mr Andrey Lukanov emphasized that an increasingly greater spontaneity and low-level initiative already make themselves felt in the formation of joint ventures. This process is gaining its own steady momentum, motivated by the interests of the individual workforces.

Mr Andrey Lukanov stressed that during the session of the commission, some criticism had been levelled at the discipline in honouring the reciprocal commitments, at the quality of the output and concerning the need to diversify the product lines, to meet consumer requirements more comprehensively. All these problems will have to find an early solution, he emphasized.

'Businesslike' Economic Talks Held in UK

LD1710232288 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] London October 18 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher received USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev staying here in connection with a session of the mixed Soviet-British commission. A substantive conversation was held. USSR Ambassador to Great Britain Leonid Zamyatin and British Ambassador to the USSR Rodric Braithwaite took part in it.

The prime minister noted that the deepening of trade and economic relations should hold an important place among the priorities of the development of Soviet-British relations. Vast potential of these ties is apparent and should be tapped without delay.

satisfaction was expressed with a benevolent and constructive spirit in which the session of the Soviet-British commission on scientific, technological, commercial and economic cooperation is now held in London. Useful considerations and mutual criticism expressed during the session are aimed at overcoming difficulties and a certain inertia of foreign trade organisations of the two countries.

The need to achieve the level of commercial and economic relations, an arrangement about which was reached during Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the British prime minister, was emphasized during the conversation.

The sides expressed the confidence that the ways of enhancing the competitiveness of British goods in the Soviet market will be found. The quest for concrete areas of the application of new forms of commercial and economic cooperation brought into this sphere by perestroyka in the USSR was intensified.

Margaret Thatcher emphasized that the British leadership closely follows the course of perestroyka processes and views them as extremely important for the entire international community. She said there are certainly a great deal of difficulties of economic and political nature along the road of perestroyka, but the resolve and consistency of the course of the Soviet leadership indicates that it is quite realistic to achieve the tasks set. The Soviet side emphasized the interest in further widening contacts and cooperation with Great Britain.

The opening of the session of the mixed commision shows a businesslike spirit of both sides. It is important that proclaimed statements about the readiness for cooperation gave way to the discussion of concrete projects, ideas, the setting up of joint ventures, the widening of

industrial cooperation. This creates a good basis for advance and consolidates the overall positive atmosphere of Soviet-British relations.

West Europe

Inspectors Observe Pershing-2 Destruction

LD1910133788 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Frankfurt on the Main October 19 TASS—TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Gennadiy Kulbitskiy report:

The destruction of the first batch of Pershing-2 transporter erectors began today at the American Pershing-2 missile technical centre in Hausen, a suburb of Frankfurt on the Main.

The transporters are being destroyed under the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. By means of special gas burners and electric saws, the transporter erectors are cut into parts, after which they will be sent to resmelting as scrap metal.

The destruction process takes place in the presence of a group of Soviet inspectors who had arrived in the FRG in accordance with the INF Treaty provisions.

'Hope' for Peace Seen

LD1910190588 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Frankfurt on the Main October 19 TASS—Representative of the command of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, the West German Ministry of Defence and numerous reporters today saw the beginning of the destruction of the nine launchers of Pershing-2 medium-range nuclear missiles at Hausen, near Frankfurt on the Main.

The elimination is being watched by a group of Soviet inspectors who have come here in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

As many as 114 such launchers are to be destroyed before 1991.

"Our main task for the last several years was to keep the Pershing missiles complexes on alert," said Christopher Evans, head of the American centre for repairing and maintaining Pershing-1 and Pershing-2 missiles at Hausen.

"Today we're for the first time destroying them. This is a historic moment," he said.

The launchers are being eliminated at one of the centre's shops which has been equipped with milling machines, plasma cutting devices, and metal-working electric saws.

The destruction of launchers is the only operation to eliminate components of intermediate- and shorter-range missile systems to be held in Western Europe.

The Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are destroyed in the United States.

A 10-ton missile launcher, brought to the destruction site, was turned in a mere half hour into carefully piled pieces of metal.

Someone of those present described them as scrap in the name of a peaceful future.

Representative of the U.S. European Command Brigadier General Joseph Laposata said at a ceremony there that each cut in the metal bodies of missile launchers was a step toward a better future.

He expressed the hope that today's destruction of launchers and subsequent steps would give children a possibility to live in peace in which hostilities and the arms race would be replaced with mutual understanding and in which agreements similar to the INF Treaty would become an ordinary thing.

This unusual statement from a high-ranking representative of the U.S military command won applause of those present.

The head of the Soviet inspection group, V.S. Lebedev, told TASS that today "we're witnessing practical implementation of the Soviet-American INF Treaty".

"On the face of it, this is ordinary, routine work, but mankind has seen no work more noble and constructive than that," he added.

Speaking about the activities of the inspection group, Lebedev said that it had established "normal, business-like and principle-governed relations" with the U.S side.

"Of course, there are diffculties in every big undertaking," he went on.

"Each side seeks to strictly fulfill its instructions. Far from all problems are easily solved, but still we find common ground on the basis of the Soviet-U.S. treaty."

The elimination of the first batch of launchers will be completed on Thursday.

Consortium Grants Major Loan Before Kohl Visit

PM1910094988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Credit Is Mutually Advantageous"]

[Text] Bonn, 17 Oct—After long and thorough talks an agreement has been prepared on a DM3 billion credit to be granted to the Soviet Union by a consortium of West German banks, headed by Deutsche Bank, the largest among them. It was signed today in Frankfurt-am-Main by representatives of the consortium and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

The purpose of the credit, Deutsche Bank director A. Leban told me, is to finance supplies of equipment to modernize the Soviet light and food industries.

The idea is to provide state-of-the-art equipment and put on a modern footing hundreds of our enterprises, including those manufacturing macaroni, cheese, bread, fashionable footwear, knitwear and sewn goods, and packing materials.

People within the FRG are devoting considerable attention to the credit agreement. Although this is, so to speak, a private, nongovernmental deal, the Federal Government is backing the accord that has been secured. It is no coincidence that the signing of the agreement took place on the eve of Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's official visit to the USSR, and it is no coincidence that the people accompanying him will include A. Herrhausen, chairman of the Deutsche Bank Board. Commenting on the agreement, the FRG press notes that FRG machine building, especially enterprises specializing in the production of equipment for the food and light industries, will probably win much sought-after orders.

A number of new economic cooperation projects are now being prepared, including production cooperation and the creation of joint enterprises. There is even news in the field of numismatics—a joint "Mezhnumizmatika" enterprise has been set up and has already established business links with FRG banks and firms. An exhibition has opened in Frankfurt-am-Main at the headquarters of the Dresdner Bank entitled "A 1,000-Year History of Coinage From Russia to the USSR."

Kohl, Mitterrand Discuss Soviet Relations

PM1910094188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Meeting Between F. Mitterrand and H. Kohl"]

[Text] Paris— An unofficial meeting has been held between French President F. Mitterrand and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl in the small French town of Vezelay. They focused their attention on questions of East-West relations, and in particular relations with the Soviet Union. Both France and the FRG have recently noticeably galvanized their "Ostpolitik": H. Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union will begin in 10 days' time, and the French president will visit our country at the end of November.

"Important events are now taking place in the international arena which are mainly connected with the development of relations between the two blocs," the FRG chancellor said at a press conference after the meeting, also expressing satisfaction with the many contacts M.S. Gorbachev has made with Western leaders.

Observers note that the two exchanged opinions at the talks in Vezelay on how to develop and deepen the policy of detente and make moves toward beginning talks to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe on the eve of the two visits to Moscow.

F. Mitterrand informed H. Kohl of the results of the visit to Paris by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. The French president remarked that whereas Soviet-French relations have been stable in recent years, they have now been given a new boost.

The French president and the FRG chancellor also discussed questions concerning "European building." "A difficult road lies ahead of us," H. Kohl said. "We still have a long way to go, but we have reason to be optimistic." For his part, F. Mitterrand noted the difficulties involved in creating a "united Europe," particularly with regard to working out coordinated actions by the 12 EEC member-states.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Favors Cooperation

PM1710132988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent P. Golub report on interview with Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro in Lisbon: "Portugal: Minister in Favor of Cooperation"—date not specified]

[Text] Lisbon—"Portugal's stance on the question of mutual relations between the East and the West is one of active support for the development of all-around ties and mutually advantageous international cooperation, including that with the Soviet Union."

This was declared by Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro in an interview with your correspondent.

"We attach great importance to ensuring international security on the basis of reducing arms to the lowest possible level," he emphasized. "In this context we acclaim the Soviet Union's efforts and, for our part, strive to promote East-West dialogue."

"People in Portugal are attentively following the changes taking place in your country. The restructuring of the economic system and the democratization of society now under way in the USSR are important prerequisites for your economy's accelerated development. We welcome these processes and would like to support their development by means of broad economic cooperation. Reciprocal trade, industrial cooperation, access to the two countries' markets—these are the spheres for development of mutual relations which will no doubt help to improve bilateral relations between Portugal and the USSR and between West and East as a whole," the Portuguese minister declared.

Fishing Cooperation With Denmark Discussed

PM1710132588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 12 October V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received L. Gammelgaard, Danish minister of fisheries.

They discussed questions of trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Denmark, particularly in the fishing industry.

The conversation was attended by R.A. Thorning-Petersen, Danish ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Further on Visit by Italian Premier De Mita

De Mita Kremlin Dinner Speech

PM1910155188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech given by C. De Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, at a dinner held in his honor 14 October in the Grand Kremlin Palace, under the general headline: "Soviet-Italian Relations Are Getting a Second Wind"]

[Text] Mr Chairman!

I cordially thank you for your friendly greeting in connection with my arrival and for the welcome and the hospitality with which you have greeted the delegation of Italian parliamentarians and me personally. Allow me also to thank Mrs Gorbachev for the courtesy and cordiality lavished on my wife since our arrival in Moscow, a city full of beauty and rich in art, traditions, and culture.

The "Italy 2000" Exhibition—an important event, that you are doing me the honor of attending tomorrow when I open it—is the event that prompted this visit. This exhibition illustrates the Italian Government's desire to deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union in all spheres and boost it to a level considerably above that of our normal economic and trade exchange, by touching on our more cherished ties. That is why we impute particular significance to the development of Italian-Soviet mixed enterprises.

Moreover, taking advantage of this opportunity that presented itself in connection with the "Italy 2000" Exhibition, our government delegations are meeting on a scale unprecedented in our relations, a meeting which thus, as it were, accords with European community practice. I thank you, Mr Chairman, for your consenting to this large-scale approach, which is of such promising significance.

The turnaround that you and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have brought about in international relations was of historic significance and has already made its imprint on our era. The agreement dated 8 December 1987 was assessed in Italy with a sense of profound satisfaction, which accorded with our country's consistent participation as a member of the Atlantic alliance in the crucial efforts to ensure military-political equilibrium in Europe. Your inspectors' arrival in Comiso on the island of Sicily was for Italians the visible beginning of a new phase of disarmament characterized by innovative bold forms of monitoring [proveryayemost] and openness, a phase which our country intends to approach with a great sense of obligation and realism.

We know that this is a difficult stage. However, no new stage is easy. After 40 years of the former situation we already knew everything about it: the risk and the extent of the risk, the rules of deterrence, and the rules of equilibrium of forces. In the face of the new situation we are all, to some extent, finding ourselves at a phase involving attentive study. For it would be equally erroneous both to try to tackle new things with the old logic of mutual hopeless pessimism, and to meet the future half-way, with disordered and unbalanced intentions, succumbing to superficial optimism. That is why Italy is convinced that the policy of balance must be preserved. However, the aims of this policy must undergo profound changes: It is a question of equilibrium, oriented not toward negative guarantees, but toward positive prospects that would help everyone in jointly building a peaceful world.

Military tensions had to be reduced in order for us to tackle the job. We want the first agreement on missiles to be followed by progress in the spheres of conventional arms, strategic arms talks, chemical weapons, and nuclear tests. At the same time we must all realize that talks in the military sphere are not the intrinsic purpose but only the precondition that should become the basis for the final goal—the goal of building a peaceful world, which is somewhat different from merely a world without war. Inducements to break up traditional solidarity, and the illusions of unilateral disarmament, do this process no good. Italy is convinced that henceforth, both in the West and the East, loyalty to one's alliances no

longer means avoiding dialogue but will be a reliable pledge that conditions of peace and progress can develop for everyone, without apprehensions for anyone's security.

Moreover, the agreement between the two great powers initiated a transition from world equilibriums based on the need to avoid war to different equilibriums which still need to be created in international political, economic, technological, and cultural systems.

New competition is opening up whereby the role of military might should be of less and less importance and the role of countries with the most powerful cultural mission, and that are the most open to innovation and mutual exchange, should be of ever increasing importance.

From this viewpoint, Mr Chairman, the new Soviet policy of concrete actions for the sake of peace, which we know is supported by the mighty process of renewal within your great country, is also a powerful stimulating factor for the other European countries' political lines.

Italy and other states in the European Community are preparing for imminent accords on consistent integration in an effort to revise our rules in the sphere of finance, trade, taxation, and, in some cases, political decisions. However, we would be mistaken if in this endeavor we were to concern ourselves solely with our own problems. But the recent signing of an agreement between the EEC and CEMA shows that we have the will to broaden our horizons. The new process unfolding in the Soviet Union is indeed prompting everyone to revise their estimates and computations. Moreover, it definitely highlights the concept of Europe once again in its broadest, richest diversity, a Europe steeped in ideological and religious currents. Mighty rivers, mountain ranges, seas, and oceans present no obstacle to this concept of Europe as defined by the CSCE. After the "cold war" winter and the powerful symptoms of detente that began to be recorded in Helsinki, the idea of Europe in its age-old role as the creator of human personalities and civilizations can be resurrected.

Mr Chairman, these are the radical ideas that are today guiding Italian policy in the international arena.

Today you enjoy great personal success in Italy. Our political system, which is so complex and often difficult, though always attentive to historic actions, has found in your policy common congenial ground, both for the majority and for the opposition.

However, we sense the total importance of your efforts, we understand the difficulties, and we feel that we are involved, too, in some way. In a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent, the struggle aimed at overcoming these difficulties goes beyond the framework of an event of national significance, however major it may be. This work is of higher import, and its outcome is of great interest to us and prompts us to be useful where possible.

That is why, on behalf of the entire Italian people, I bring you and Mrs Gorbachev wishes which are the most sincere and ardent wishes that I could bring from my country.

Aganbegyan Urges Economic Ties

LD1810181488 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 0700 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Italy is talking to the Soviet Union: At the Italy 2000 Exhibition in Moscow, Gianni Agnelli [president of FIAT] underlined the need for closer economic ties between the two countries. Raul Gardini [Italian industrialist in charge of Ferruzzi Corporation] and the Nobel Prize Laureate Levi Montalcini presented new lines of research and experiments. Dario Larufa reports from Moscow:

[Larufa] [passage omitted] Abel Aganbegyan, Gorbachev's No 1 economic adviser, has been pressing for quicker openings toward the West and has promised better conditions for foreign investments in the USSR. He is willing to talk on major current events, including the slowdown imposed on Gorbachev's restructuring.

[Begin recording] [Aganbegyan in Russian with superimposed Italian translation] I do not like the difficulties, because we wanted a lot more than that. We expected a lot more so we must do a lot more.

[Larufa] Who is responsible for this delay?

[Aganbegyan] First and foremost, the central bodies in charge of managing the economy which are introducing the new economic mechanisms much too slowly.

[Larufa] When will the ruble be convertible?

[Aganbegyan] In the mid-1990's, we hope.

[Larufa] Will it be possible to invest in stock in the Soviet Union as in the capitalist countries?

[Aganbegyan] No, not as in the capitalist countries. There will be another system. It will not be possible for the stock to be sources of unearned income.

[Larufa] Will the USSR ask to join GATT?

[Aganbegyan] We have already filed a request. It does not depend on us. It depends on the (?authorities). [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tourism Protocol Signed

LD1401233288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 14 oct (TASS)—Further cooperation by the Soviet Union and Italy in tourism is envisaged by a protocol signed in Moscow today. It records the results of talks held here by Igor Konovalov, chairman of the Soviet "Inturist" organization, and Franco Carraro, Italian minister of tourism.

The talks took place within the framework of the official visit to Moscow by Ciriaco De Mita, chairman of the council of Ministers of the Italian Republic. [passage omitted]

The sides see reserves for intensifying Italian-Soviet tourism in organizing mass travel on a charter basis, and not only to Moscow and Leningrad, but also to such well-known tourist centers as Kiev, Yerevan, Tbilisi, and Sochi. An accord on this has been reached with airlines from the two countries. "However," Igor Konovalov stressed, "we would not want to confine our ties just to tourist exchanges. The protocol which has just been signed envisages coordinated information and advertising activity and the holding of exhibitions and seminars on problems of tourism. The Soviet side has expressed an interest in establishing joint enterprises for building and running hotels."

Franco Carraro, having noted growing interest among Italians in travel to the USSR, linked this with the processes of glasnost and democratization in all spheres of Soviet society. He confirmed the readiness of Italian firms to expand all-around cooperation with "Inturist".

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Visit by Brazilian President Sarney

Sarney Kremlin Dinner Speech

PM1910150088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech delivered by Brazilian President J. Sarney at 18 October Kremlin dinner, under the general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere": "J. Sarney's Speech"]

[Text] Mr Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium!

I warmly greet you, the members of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet Government, who have received us with so many generous manifestations of friendship and sympathy.

Today is an opportunity for me, on behalf of the Brazilian people and on my own account, to express, through you, to all the Soviet people the deep feelings of sympathy and admiration that we have for your country. Everything that happens in the Soviet Union is reflected in world politics. We are following the efforts your country is making, the changes that are taking place, the quest for ways of consistently renewing life and keeping pace with the times with firm confidence, looking toward the future while remembering the lessons of the past.

The Soviet Union has a rich history. We, the younger nations, which were formed in the age of the journeys of the great navigators and discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, feel constant admiration and interest toward the peoples that laid the foundations of human civilization and forged the paths of the formation of nations and states. By the time Brazil was discovered, Moscow had already been a meeting place for various cultures for 450 years.

As the first Brazilian head of state to visit the Soviet Union, I have come to this beautiful capital feeling like a pioneer of new frontiers—frontiers of historic significance for our relations.

In more than 150 years of independence Brazil has become the first major industrial country south of the Equator. It ranks eighth in the level of economic development and third in the size of its positive trade balance in the Western world. We are a peace-loving state which borders on 10 countries and has no conflicts with any of them. Our country is located in one of the least armed regions of the world. Its territory covers about 8.5 million square meters, and it has 30 percent of the world's forests. The population of Brazil consists of 140 million people, who live in conditions of racial equality, of which we are very proud. We are the country with the third biggest black population in the world, and throughout our history, for all our racial diversity, we have managed to preserve our unity.

So we have much in common with the Soviet Union, and we seek to take a worthy place in the international arena and make our contribution to building a better world.

I know the exceptional efforts that you, Mr Chairman Gorbachev, make with the aim of improving international relations, forming a new vision, and resolving problems—and this, after all, is a key element in the work of statesmen throughout the world.

A man of great experience and profound political farsightedness and a statesman who has received international recognition, you play a remarkable role in resolving the tasks of building the world we live in.

Today I would like, with great feeling, once again to congratulate you on your recent election to the lofty post of president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In recent years you have not only pursued an impressive and bold policy of transformations in your country, which has made restructuring familiar throughout the world, you have also given indisputable evidence of your creative approach to international affairs.

The proposals put forward by the Soviet Union under your leadership with the aim of building a lasting peace, renewing the international order, and resolving disputes between states are one of the mainsprings of contemporary politics.

In the sphere of our bilateral relations you equally work toward giving a decisive boost to the process of political collaboration between our countries, and this question is the subject of correspondence between us.

Your opinion, Mr Chairman, is of special significance and value for us.

Our relations have acquired new dimensions. Wide spheres of dialogue and cooperation have been created.

We have done much work in recent years to raise our bilateral ties to an up-to-date level on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality and mutual respect.

The progress achieved is not only the consequence of the international situation that now exists, but mainly the result of the important political transformations taking place in our countries and our mutual desire for rapprochement.

We feel mutual satisfaction with regard to the level of our relations, which was achieved as a result of the exchange of visits by the Brazilian and USSR foreign ministers.

My official visit to the Soviet Union is an eloquent testimony to the political will that moves us.

Brazilian-Soviet relations are in themselves an asset, and have their own logic. This includes the desire for peace, common interests, and mutual advantage.

For a long time, however, history divided us. This was due to the political circumstances that existed in our countries, as well as the realities of a world in which tension and ideological intolerance prevailed.

These times, Mr Chairman, are passing. We are aware of the futility of confrontation, by which no one ever gains. We are overcoming the fear and distrust that impoverished international life for so long, narrowed the scope of cooperation, and brought the world to the brink of unjustified risk.

The new realities, the new way of thinking are little by little beginning to prevail.

Winds of change are blowing in the world.

Brazil, which is brimming over with democratic aspirations, is ready for the role it is called upon to play in these new times. We are building our future purposefully and persistently. We are fighting against numerous difficulties. At the same time we are inspired by a steadfast goal: to follow the path of creating a just and prosperous society.

Ours is a country open to dialogue and cooperation with all states. Our relations are free from ideological clutter.

We want to maintain broad, fruitful, and mutually advantageous relations with the great Soviet people—relations without prejudice or ulterior motives.

In the political sphere there are various important spheres in which we could cooperate. Our potential is great, and I believe that our countries' contribution to the cause of peace and security will be all the weightier as the level of our knowledge of each other and the degree of our mutual trust rise.

In the trade and economic sphere, the prospects for the widening of cooperation and the development of new forms are also very promising.

Let us uncover and actively realize the potential for creating mixed enterprises and other large-scale joint projects in Brazil, the USSR, and third countries.

Let us diversify the range of bilateral trade, so that it grows richer and incorporates large volumes of equipment and industrial consumer goods and a diverse range of services.

The 1987 agreement on a long-term program for economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation and other documents signed by our two countries are a significant step in this direction.

We need to step up cultural exchanges. Let our peoples learn more about each other through the wonderful, universal world of literature and art, science and technology. Our countries have the human and cultural potential to widen and deepen our knowledge of each other.

Since the signing of the basic agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in 1981, we have been able to secure concrete achievements in this dynamic sphere.

Both sides are now ready to take new steps.

The agreement on cooperation in the sphere of the exploration and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes, which will be signed during my stay in your country, opens up wide prospects for joint work both in the sphere of fundamental research and in the creation of advanced technology.

Mr Chairman,

Bilaterally, the guaranteed success of our efforts in all the spheres mentioned—diplomatic, economic, cultural, scientific, and technical—will depend on a firm mutual readiness to abandon obsolete ideas and seek new forms of cooperation.

And multilaterally, our potential for effectively influencing the international situation will depend on whether we can find the right solution to the main problems facing us:

—disarmament, first and foremost nuclear;

—self-determination for the peoples;

—the struggle against hunger and poverty;

—the fulfillment of all countries' right to economic development and prosperity for their peoples;

—the defense of human rights;

—the application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution for the purposes of development;

—the need to protect the environment and utilize it rationally.

The countries that, like Brazil, are in a daily struggle for development do not want to remain aloof from the resolution of these problems.

On the contrary, they are aware of the enormous significance of each of these problems, and they seek to ensure that the reorganization of the established structures in the world helps to mobilize the efforts of the international community to resolve them.

The developing countries do not want to remain observers on the sidelines of current historical processes or to form a vague impression of the world through the filter of the balance of strategic and economic interests emerging in the international arena. We should form an integral component of the all-embracing concept of peace and security. The tension that arises primarily within the geographical limits of the Third World countries arises in many cases from factors that lie beyond the bounds of our own already difficult problems.

We perceive an understanding of these facts in the ideas of restructuring.

New concepts and new approaches are becoming an imperative necessity.

Our two countries occupy different positions in the world and have different degrees of responsibility. At the same time we are guided equally by the principle that all states, regardless of their socioeconomic systems, level of economic development, and comparative might, should make their contribution to the cause of peace and the strengthening of international security.

The peace we are striving for is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be secured through the partial alleviation of tension.

There is more to peace than military-strategic security.

It cannot coexist with hunger, poverty, and economic backwardness for a significant section of mankind.

The effectiveness of peace depends both on the general disarmament of countries and peoples and on the formation of a more just and equal international economic order.

Peace should guarantee the preservation of civilization and respect for the sovereignty of states and ensure justice and prosperity for the peoples.

By calling for a new way of thinking, which gives concrete form to the policy of glasnost and restructuring in the diplomatic sphere, the Soviet Union is making a valuable and weighty contribution to efforts to transform the international order.

The merit of the Soviet proposal put forward at the United Nations concerning the creation of a comprehensive system of peace and international security is that it once again proposes the discussion, on a multilateral basis, of key problems of international life.

Brazil shares the view that the United Nations should play the main role in disarmament talks.

The hopes of the international community have undoubtedly grown stronger in connection with the recently commenced implementation of the agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, on the occasion of whose signing I was pleased to send a message of greetings to the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States.

New successes along the difficult path of disarmament would be greeted with a twofold joy. The nonmilitarization of outer space would stimulate progress in the cause of regional disarmament.

Brazil and the Soviet Union, like many other states, hold the view that a significant proportion of the resources that could be freed through the adoption of disarmament measures should be channeled into the resolution of the economic and social problems that concern mankind.

In the South Atlantic—a region with special characteristics, of which Brazil forms a part—the countries of Latin America and Africa want to concentrate efforts on resolving the tasks of their development and economic cooperation in conditions of peace and security.

The South Atlantic countries recognize the importance of ensuring that measures undertaken in the disarmament sphere do not lead to the geographical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In the process of creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic, we count on the positive cooperation of all countries with a view to keeping the region free from nuclear weapons, and also from tension, rivalry, and the presence of the armed forces of states belonging to other regions.

We note with interest that in recent years Soviet diplomacy and your country's top leadership have paid increased attention to questions concerning Latin America.

Political and economic security are two sides of the same coin, and neither of these concepts can take precedence over the other.

One cannot imagine a world economy in which all the countries of the world would cooperate fruitfully, and yet in which the disproportions, discrimination, and injustice that now exist would persist.

The entire international community should devote urgent attention to questions that have an enormous influence on the world economy, such as foreign debt payments, which are an oppressive burden on the developing countries.

Concern is caused equally by such problems as the policy of protectionism, which has become widespread in international practice, and other forms of trade restrictions.

In this context I regard the interest shown by the Soviet Union in greater involvement in the world economic process, including direct participation in agreements and organizations governing international trade, as positive for all their participants.

The comprehensive nature of international relations gains new dimensions and clearer features every day.

The content of East-West relations is being decisively reviewed. New economic groupings have become a reality. Economic and financial collaboration is receiving a substantial boost. At the same time it is noteworthy that progress in North-South dialogue is either insignificant or entirely absent.

In the international relations we are building, there will certainly be wide scope for deepening constructive efforts with a view to developing political and economic relations between states of the East and the South.

Therefore it would be highly expedient if those countries, taking into account their coinciding interests, were to pool their efforts to accelerate the improvement of their relations on a multilateral basis.

The time has come to develop equal political dialogue, seek additional potential, and define the forms of stable, mature, and constructive rapprochement.

An exceptional opportunity is opening up for the widening and purposeful deepening of our friendly ties, with the emphasis on interstate relations.

We have reached the constructive stage where Brazil and the Soviet Union see each other as reliable partners, and their political leadership is showing readiness to study in depth questions reflecting the main interests and aspirations of each side.

An abundant road lies ahead of us, full of great opportunities. The determination to travel this path will depend on us, on our sovereign will.

The future is in our hands, and the time has come to build that future with zeal and persistence.

We live in a world open to everyone. We are all participants in man's great achievements on planet earth. Differences of customs, regimes, race, and religion should prompt a desire to get to know each other better, not a striving for mutual alienation.

Mr Chairman, I express the Brazilian people's feelings of friendship toward the Soviet people, their feelings of admiration and deep respect for the activity your people are engaged in, activity that is placing them in the vanguard of the great creators of contemporary political history.

With these words and with these feelings, I would like to propose to all those present that we raise our glasses to universal peace and mutual understanding between peoples, to the resolute progress of Brazilian-Soviet relations, to the Soviet people's prosperity, to the further successes of your country's leadership, and to your health and Mrs Gorbachev's health.

Thank you very much.

19 Oct Kremlin Talks

PM2010130388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report on talks between Brazilian President Jose Sarney and M.S. Gorbachev, held in the Kremlin on 19 October entitled: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Soviet-Brazilian talks took place today in the Kremlin in connection with the official visit to the Soviet Union by Brazilian President Jose Sarney. Taking part in them on the Soviet side were: Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central

Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister; Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Brutents, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Comrade Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; Comrade Kuzmin, USSR ambassador to Brazil; Colonel General Grinkevich, head of the Main Staff of Ground Forces; and Admiral Makarov, head of the Main Staff of the USSR Navy.

Taking part in the talks on the Brazilian side were: Brazilian President Jose Sarney; Costa Abreu Sodre, foreign minister; Admiral Saboia, minister of the Navy; Army General Pires Goncalves, minister of the Army; Cardoso Alves, minister of Industry and Commerce; R. Biasi, minister of Science and Technology; Division General R. Denys, chief of the military household of the presidency; R. Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR; L. Lampreia, Brazilian deputy foreign minister; J. Veloso, chief of the foreign minister's office; L. de Seixas Correa, presidential assistant on international questions; F. Jonqueira, head of the European department of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry; and N. Salec, director of the foreign trade administration of the Banco do Brasil.

In the spirit of the conceptual exchange of views on the situation in the world that took place during the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Jose Sarney, the sides expounded their visions of ways to settle regional conflicts from the standpoints of the coincident elements of their approaches to the issue. They noted that the warming of the political climate in the world also made possible a shift toward detente in longstanding regional conflicts. They noted the importance of making this process clearly and positively dynamic.

Concerning the underlying principles of the Soviet approach to unblocking seats of tension, which includes a thorough analysis of the nature of the conflict and settlement methods, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that the USSR's position is based on the conviction that it is impossible in current conditions to solve conflicts militarily. It is not only we who have come to this understanding, but also many other countries on the basis of experience and existing realities. There is only one rational alternative for a settlement, which consists of diverting conflicts to the channels of political solutions. The Soviet Union is guided by this in determining its position in relation to the situation around Afghanistan, in the Near East, southern Africa, and in relation to Kampuchea and Central America.

Agreeing with this approach, President Jose Sarney noted the importance of talks as a political method of removing the seats of tension from which developing countries frequently suffer. He positively evaluated the Soviet Union's actions in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and expressed the opinion that all the participants in the Geneva accords ought to act similarly.

On this level the Soviet side said that it regards an Afghan settlement as the touchstone of the states' adherence to the principles of the political solution of conflicts. The Soviet Union is conscientiously observing the Geneva Accords and is entitled to count on the other particpants doing the same. Unfortunately, this is yet to be observed. The failure of the Geneva accords will inflict a heavy blow on the policy of fresh approaches to unblocking seats of tension. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to see that this does not happen.

During an exchange of opinions on questions of Central America, the Soviet side stressed that the sources of the crisis situation that has come about there must be sought in the socioeconomic sphere and a scenario should not be constructed about its introduction from outside. The overthrow of a hateful dictatorship by the people of Nicaragua and its resoluteness to build a pluralist society on the basis of the right to one's own choice is an objective process. For this reason there can be no justification of the policy statement of acting from a position of strength and interfereing in internal affairs, which is being conducted against that country. We sympathize with the Nicaraguan people in its aspirations and desire to restructure its own life, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. However, we are not conducting any actions in the region to undermine the existing regimes or anyone's interests. The Soviet Union believes that the Latin American concept of a settlement in Central America contains a large constructive plan which, if consistently implemented, is capable of providing positive results. President Jose Sarney of Brazil set out the gist of the Brazilian approach to regional settlements, which in its pivotal element coincides with the Soviet approach. He positively evaluated the USSR's position regarding a Central American settlement and also its support for the Guatemala accords.

Next to speak were other Soviet and Brazilian participants, who informed the heads of state on the businesslike discussions they had during the visit. Describing the cooperation of the two countries in further key questions of international life, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Roberto Costa de Abreau Sodre noted that the USSR and Brazil proceed from parallel, and in a number of cases similar, aims when it comes to implementing the priority tasks of international security. They are united in their understanding that drawing up and implementing solutions to the tasks that have been indicated should rely on the collective efforts of the members of the international community. The precise implementation by both sides of a 1985 memorandum on consultations, and their willingness to impart new, nonstandard forms to their exchange of views, were noted.

The ministers noted that the tackling of world ecological problems opens up a new sphere for bilateral and international cooperation. Special note was made of the

signing by the USSR and Brazil of a protocol on cooperation on the peaceful use of space, which raised Soviet-Brazilian ties to a qualitatively new level, characterized by an increase in mutual trust. Comrade Kamentsev provided information about the contacts that the Brazilian entrepreneurs accompanying President Sarney had in Soviet foreign trade departments. Specific bilateral cooperation projects, both those which have already begun and those that are at the discussion stage, were enumerated. The importance of the recommendations drawn up at the 11th session of the Soviet-Brazilian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation concerning the search for new forms of cooperation, and in particular the creation of joint enterprises on USSR and Brazilian territory, and in third countries was noted. The sides admitted that the structure, volume, and unbalanced nature of bilateral trade does not correspond to the potential possibilities of the two states, and they agreed to consider steps to rectify the situation.
Ralph Biasi, Brazil's minister of science and technology, reported on the conversation he had with Comrade Tolstykh, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, during which the most important guidelines were determined for implementing the program of scientific and technical cooperation for 1988-1990 signed by the USSR and Brazil.

Summing up the results of the talks, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Jose Sarney emphasized the significance of the Soviet-Brazilian political "Declaration regarding the principles of cooperation in the name of peace and international cooperation" which, according to the Brazilian side's figurative expression, is a charter of mutual understanding of states with different sociopolitical systems and is an example for relations between countries on the East-South line.

The heads of state noted that the USSR and Brazil are entering a new stage of development of bilateral relations and, in doing so, have all the necessary prerequisites to make them substantial, sound, and constructive.

They were united in believing that President Sarney's current visit is establishing favorable preconditions for the further deepening of Soviet-Brazilian relations.

The USSR and Brazil will work on this area with a sense of responsibility and in the spirit of the times.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev summed up the results of the Brazilian president's visit and talks: The USSR and Brazil are thinking in terms of the objective necessity of cooperating with each other. The fact that on many important international problems a high degree of agreement was revealed makes it possible to impart a new, strong significance to Soviet-Brazilian relations. The developing and deepening ties between the two countries in the trade and economic, scientific and technical, and other spheres must additionally cement these relations.

The talks were held in a businesslike and highly amicable atmosphere and were characterized by the mutual wish to search for areas of agreement and to impart to relations between the USSR and Brazil a stable, mature, and at the same time even more dynamic nature.

A joint communique was adopted which will be published in the press.

Joint Declaration Published

PM1910155988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 1-2

["Declaration on Principles of Collaboraton For the Sake of Peace and International Cooperation"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR and the Federative Republic of Brazil,

aware that the maintenance of peace and international security can be achieved with the effective participation of all states and peoples;

moved by the desire to do everything to promote the consolidation of universal peace, the development of international cooperation, and the establishment of just international economic relations;

acknowledging the United Nations' key role in preserving peace and security and in promoting the development of broad international cooperation;

convinced that the further consolidation of friendly and equitable relations between the two countries will promote the deepening of trust and mutual understanding and will be a contribution to the development and expansion of international cooperation; have agreed on the following principles, by which they will be guided in developing cooperation and bilateral relations:

First. Relations between the USSR and Brazil are based on the strict observance of the principles and aims of the UN Charter and other norms of international law: sovereign equality, mutual respect, the peoples' equal rights and self determination, noninterference in internal affairs, the nonuse of force, and the peaceful solution of disputes. The USSR and Brazil proceed from the premise that each state's right to political and economic independence, including the right to an autonomous foreign policy, should be acknowledged and respected.

Second. The USSR and Brazil will seek to expand cooperation with a view to consolidating the system of international talks and above all the United Nations and to further enhancing their effectiveness in developing dialogue and carrying out actions aimed at resolving the numerous political and economic problems which affect or could affect the vital interests of the international community, primarily in questions of peace and development. The USSR and Brazil will make efforts to promote, at bilateral, regional, and multilateral levels,

the development and deepening of broad international dialogue geared to the consolidation of peace and international security in accordance with the UN Charter.

Third. The USSR and Brazil are convinced that the conservation of civilization and the development of cooperation between all members of the international community presuppose peaceful and harmonious coexistence and the creation of a fairer, more balanced, and more democratic political and economic order. Both sides believe that the attainment of these goals is possible if the threat of nuclear war is eliminated and an international climate free of tension is created.

Fourth. The Soviet Union and Brazil confirm their support for efforts aimed at universal and complete disarmament under effective international control, having in mind here the priority importance of nuclear disarmament and the need for a mutual link between bilateral talks and efforts made at multilateral disarmament forums. They acknowledge the urgent need for the nonmilitarization of space, the prevention of the geographical proliferation of nuclear weapons, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the taking of effective regional disarmament measures.

Fifth. In the two countries' opinion, the creation, in various regions, of zones of peace and zones free of nuclear weapons will promote a substantial reduction of international tension. On this plane the USSR and Brazil recognize the importance of creating, in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution, a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic and of fully implementing its goals with the broad assistance of the international community.

Sixth. The USSR and Brazil oppose any forms of foreign interference or discrimination or the artificial restriction of international cooperation and they stress that all states are full and sovereign participants in the historical process. The developing countries, which in many ways suffer from the tension arising beyond their borders, are called on to make a weighty contribution to the formation of an all-embracing concept of international peace and security and its practical implementation. Tension—both existing and potential—in various regions of the world must be eliminated by peaceful means.

Seventh. The USSR and Brazil state their intention to collaborate with a view to achieving the just and peaceful settlement of crisis situations and regional conflicts whose conservation presents a serious threat to the stability of the international situation and to an all-embracing peace. The sides proceed from the premise that the unblocking of regional conflicts can be achieved only with the strict observance of the peoples' right to self determination and an independent path of development, only with freedom of choice, noninterference in their internal affairs, and a fair consideration of the interests of all states involved in the conflict.

Eighth. Certain that the taking of effective disarmament measures will promote the solution of development problems, the Soviet Union and Brazil confirm their adherence to the idea of switching the funds now spent on the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, to the needs of economic and social development, especially of the developing countries.

Ninth. The USSR and Brazil are aware that the concept of all-embracing security is inseparable from the idea of political and economic security for all states and for each state individually and also that ways of overcoming the disproportions in economic development and establishing a new international economic order should be sought through negotiations.

Tenth. Considering that the search for lasting peace is not restricted merely to the disarmament field, the USSR and Brazil stress the need to reduce the increasing gulf between the developed and developing states. They also consider it to be important to achieve a settlement of the foreign debt problem, with an appropriate consideration of the interests of all countries, such as would enable the developing countries to ensure the economic development process.

Eleventh. With a view to consolidating international security and developing cooperation between states irrespective of their sociopolitical systems and also with a view to deepening mutual understanding and expanding collaboration in the conservation of peace, the USSR and Brazil will develop the practice of intergovernmental political consultations f based on the memorandum of mutual understanding on consultations on questions of mutual interest, signed 10 December 1985.

Twelfth. The USSR and Brazil stress the need to impart additional impetus to the trade and economic ties and scientific and technical cooperation existing between them in order to bring them to a level which accords with the two countries' potential.

Thirteenth. The Soviet Union and Brazil will seek to ensure that their collaboration in the international arena in the spirit of the principles set forth in this declaration and their bilateral relations serve as an example of cooperation based on equal rights between states with different sociopolitical systems.

Fourteenth. Cooperation between the USSR and Brazil is not aimed against any other state and in no way affects the sides' commitments with regard to third countries assumed on a bilateral, regional, or multilateral basis.

[signed] M. Gorbachev, J. Sarney, Moscow, 19 October 1988

Notes Exchanged, Attendees Listed

LD1910170888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] In the Great Kremlin Palace today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Brazilian President Jose Sarney signed a declaration on principles of interaction in the name of peace and international cooperation. Then other Soviet-Brazilian documents were signed.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Roberto de Abreu Sodre, Brazil's minister of foreign affairs, signed a protocol on cooperation between the governments of the USSR and Brazil in the field of exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

The foreign ministers exchanged notes on implementing the agreement on the 30 September 1987 long-term program of economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation, the 9 December 1985 agreement on economic and technical cooperation, the 30 September 1987 agreement on cultural cooperation, and the 1988-90 program of scientific and technical cooperation.

There was an exchange of notes on the establishment of a Soviet consulate-general in Rio de Janeiro and a Brazilian consulate-general in Leningrad.

Agreement on the joint publication of collected documents on the history of relations between the USSR and Brazil was noted. An agreement was signed on bilateral deliveries of machines, equipment, and other goods.

Taking part in the signing ceremony were, on the Soviet side:

Comrade Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Comrade Menteshashvilli, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; heads of a number of ministries and departments of the USSR; Comrade Kuzmin, USSR ambassador to Brazil; and other officials.

On the Brazilian side: Enrique Saboia, minister of the Navy; Leonidas Pires Goncalves, minister of the Army; Roberto Cardoso Alves, minister of industry and commerce; Ralph Biasi, minister of science and technology; Rubens Bayma Denys, chief of the president's military household; Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR; and other officials accompanying the president on his journey.

Sarney Visits Brazilian Exhibit

LD2010014888 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Brazilian President Jose Sarney, who is here on an official visit, in the afternoon today toured the largest Brazilian exhibition in the Soviet Union ever, which has been opened at Moscow's World Trade Center.

Called "Expo Brazil'88", it features a wide range of merchandise offered for export to this country, including consumer goods, garments, foodstuffs and high-tech products like cars and personal computers.

The fourth Brazilian show here, it occupies double the area taken up by any of the previous exhibitions. The exhibits have been provided by 36 state and private companies as well as mixed-capital firms.

Many Brazilian subsidiaries of well-known Western transnational corporations, among them Fiat, Pirelli, Philips and others, have sent in their products as well. Trade mediator firms are taking part, too.

Sarney visited the stands of various firms and talked to their officials.

He expressed the hope that the exhibition will help promote trade and economic relations between his country and the Soviet Union.

Visits Cosmonaut Star City

LD2010015188 Moscow TASS In English 1911 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—President Jose Sarney of Brazil, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, today visited the star city outside Moscow.

He toured the Yuri Gagarin Museum of Cosmonautics and laid flowers to a monument to the world's first man in space.

At the cosmonauts' training center, he was shown flight simulators, the replicas of the orbiting platform Mir and the module Kvant (Quantum) which are currently used in orbit, and a swimming pool specially fitted out for cosmonauts to practice space walk routines in the water.

The president met with the center's senior officials and with cosmonauts. During the conversation, note was taken of the importance of further consolidating relations between the two countries and of the Soviet-Brazilian document signed in the Kremlin on cooperation in space studies.

Note was made also of the need for joint efforts to resolve ecological problems.

Meets Writers Union Leader

LD2010015488 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—A professional talk about the ways for the development of the world literature was held this evening between Jose Sarney, a renowned Brazilian writer, and Soviet men-of-letters in the USSR Writers' Union.

Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the union, told the Brazilian president that the union united 10,000 professional writers today. Their organisation operates on full-scale profit-and-loss accounting principles. Multimillion profits accruing from the publication of books, hundreds of magazines and newspapers go to build apartment houses, polyclinics and hospitals, rest homes for writers, and also to pay pensions and lump-sum grants to writers.

The USSR Writers' Union maintains close ties with writers' organisations in over a hundred countries, among them, Brazil.

Jose Sarney said that Soviet literature carried on with honour the glorious traditions of Russian literature. It spread across the world and became a part of Brazilians' artistic life. For us, writers, it is important to reflect life truthfully and to be always in the thick of revolutionary transformations, he said.

Brazilian author Jorge Amado took part in the talk.

Sarney News Conference

PM2010115788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on 19 October Moscow news conference by Brazilian President J. Sarney, published under the general heading: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] At a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists J. Sarney said that his visit to the Soviet Union had been very successful and could be described as truly historic and as a high point in the development of Brazilian-USSR relations.

My 6-hour talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which enabled me to sense the importance that the Soviet Union attaches to Brazil, made a great impression on me, he continued.

A document has been signed in the Kremlin today which has no precedent in Brazilian-Soviet relations. The "Declaration On the Principles of Collaboration for the Sake of Peace and International Cooperation" determines the basis for bilateral relations and provides for the development of our cooperation mechanisms. In this document we have also set about strengthening the entire international situation and, in particular, we have advocated not putting nuclear weapons in space and creating nuclear-free zones of peace and cooperation. A world with dialogue and peaceful coexistence alone should exist at the contemporary stage, the guest stated.

The declaration, he said, contains an important section. Both sides voiced the unanimous opinion that all the states of the world are independent and equal participants in the world historical process. All countries can make a contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament. We supported the idea that the resources released as a result of the cessation of the arms race should be channeled to help underdeveloped states. The struggle for a new international economic order will also facilitate this.

With reference to the ways to settle the Caribbean crisis, the President pointed out that regional conflicts reinforce international tension. They must not be resolved by military operations: The only way to achieve a settlement is through talks primarily within the UN framework.

In conclusion J. Sarney once again expressed his sincere gratitude for the warmth and hospitality accorded him on Soviet soil. He expressed the hope that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Brazil would extend the dialogue initiated in Moscow.

He answered other questions from journalists at the news conference.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1959 GMT on 19 October in a similar report adds: "Answering a question by a TASS correspondent about prospects for settlement of the Central American crisis, the Brazilian president said that his country firmly supports the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means, by means of talks, without any interference from outside. He pointed out with satisfaction the identity of views of the Soviet Union and Brazil on this problem."]

Political & Social

19 Oct Council of Ministers Session Reported

PM2010113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A 19 October session of the USSR Council of Ministers examined the following questions:

The progress of the country's socioeconomic development and the tasks for completing 1988;

The fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decisions on the production and improvement of the standard of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex;

The state of affairs with regard to newspaper and journal subscription for 1989.

The USSR Government's examination of the first question showed that the approach to an analysis of the economy this year differs fundamentally from the traditionally formed practice of summing up the results of the national economy's activity. This was expressed above all in the change in the thrust and very nature of the discussion. It was focused mainly on an in-depth analysis of the processes taking place in the economy and on the fact that many of the economic levers and incentives envisaged by the reform are failing to exert due influence on the raising of the effectiveness of economic management. The session stressed that, although the most important general economic indicators attest to a certain improvement in the state of affairs in the national economy and the further acceleration of its development, underlying processes attest that a number of negative trends are not only not weakening but are even strengthening.

That is why the attempts of leaders of individual central economic organs to focus the attention of the session's participants on the fact that the national income produced increased 4.7 percent over the past 9 months compared with the same period last year, that industrial output increased 4.3 percent, and that social labor productivity rose 5.2 percent were received critically. The USSR Government drew attention to the need to resolutely depart from the interpretation of what has been achieved only through generalizing indicators and the need to assess in a realistic manner the changes taking place in the national economy and in the life of society.

In this connection it was noted that over the first 9 months of the year trade received foodstuffs worth R1.1 billion less than envisaged by the plan. As a result the population's provision with food has not improved this year. The session named the immediate culprits for the slow growth of work to fulfill the decisions made on the fundamental improvement of the country's food supplies. It was pointed out that the nature of the activity of the USSR Gosagroprom (V.S. Murakhovskiy), the Tsentrosoyuz (P.S. Fedirko), the USSR Ministry of Grain Products (A.D. Budyka), the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry (N.I. Kotlyar), and a number of union republic councils of ministers blatantly fails to accord with the keenness and concern with which the 19th CPSU Conference discussed the priority economic and political task—resolving the food problem very rapidly.

Soviet people's requests and their needs and requirements were at the basis of the assessment which the USSR Government gave of the activity of a number of USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers in developing the sociocultural sphere. Emphasis was placed on the absolutely intolerable situation whereby in the first 9 months of the year nearly 19,000 fewer apartments were commissioned in the RSFSR than envisaged by the plan, while in the Uzbek SSR over 3,000 fewer apartments, in the Moldavian SSR nearly 2,000 fewer, and in the Armenian SSR 2,400 fewer were commissioned. Serious complaints have been leveled against the chairmen of the councils of ministers of these and a number of other union republics for failing to ensure the commissioning of dozens of schools, hospitals, and preschool institutions. This applies particularly to the Kazakh SSR, Tajik SSR, and RSFSR.

The session stressed that many acute problems which remain in society are connected with the country's grave financial situation. The fact that the state's expenditure continues to grow more rapidly than its revenue generates particular alarm. All USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers were told that they are failing to use known ways of resolving this problem—failing to direct their activity toward ensuring the strictest saving in expenditure, eliminating any unproductive losses and expenses, achieving the optimum correlation between the growth of wages and the increase in labor productivity, raising production efficiency, and ensuring the budget's revenue base on this basis.

The USSR Council of Ministers demanded that the USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers take all necessary steps to overcome the unprofitableness of enterprises before the end of the current 5-year plan. The reduction of expenses on the maintenance of the management apparatus is one substantial reserve for reducing expenditure.

It was emphasized that in performing this work it is extraordinarily important to consider the structure of the management apparatus which has really taken shape and the structure of expenditure on its maintenance. Right now, of the 18 million people employed in management the state apparatus accounts for about 2 million, while

16 million are managers in production. They account for nine tenths of all expenses on the maintenance of the management apparatus—over R38 billion.

At the same time the facts attest that no real advances are taking place here. The labor collectives incur heavy expenses on the maintenance of an unwieldy apparatus, which is reflected in each enterprise's economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] income.

It has been recommended to the USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers that they perform relevant work with the associations, plants, and organizations under their jurisdiction, being strictly guided here by the Law on the State Enterprise.

The USSR Council of Ministers' discussion of the state of affairs in resolving social problems became even keener when it examined the second question on the agenda. Extreme dissatisfaction was generated by the fact that in the year which has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee conference on questions of retooling the material and technical base of the processing industry of the country's agro-industrial base the proper advances have not taken place in this matter.

The session stressed that the progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on this question attests to the underestimation by a number of ministries of the importance for our country of the processing industry's reaching a qualitatively new technical standard.

The USSR Gosagroprom (V.S. Murakhovskiy), a USSR Council of Ministers State Commission (I.S. Belousov), and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building (I.S. Silayev) were told that the essence of the serious shortcomings and omissions in their activity consists primarily in the lack of the coordination of operations essential for implementing decisions regarding the food industry—decisions so broad and complex in volume and nature—which have never been made before. These dimensions are such that over the course of 8 years it will be necessary to channel R77 billion in capital investments into the development of the processing industries, to modernize and retool over two-thirds of the capacities in the meat and dairy, butter and fat, confectionery, and bread-baking industries, and to create the necessary capacities for the prompt reception, storage, and processing of agricultural raw material.

The attention of the ministers of the defense sectors of the machine-building industry was drawn to the fact that the enterprises under their jurisdiction, because of narrow departmental interests, in a number of cases directly oppose the solution of questions of elaborating and assimilating the series production of new models of equipment and oppose the buildup of the production of manufacturing equipment for the processing industries. Instances were cited of the defense sectors' head enterprises refusing to conclude contracts for the delivery of complete production lines.

The USSR Government thoroughly examined the reasons for the fact that many enterprises enlisted to the series production of new equipment for processing agricultural raw material are displaying a desire for the unjustified establishment of high prices for the output they produce. In this connection the appropriate assessment was given of those ministries in which this phenomenon has become widespread.

The USSR Council of Ministers session noted that the shortcomings in the implementation of targets envisaged by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the fundamental modernization of the processing sectors are largely caused by omissions in the work of USSR Gosagroprom Deputy Chairmen Comrades V.I. Chernoivanov and N.M. Zaychenko and of Comrade G.S. Kirichenko, USSR deputy minister of agricultural and tractor machine building.

In this connection it was pointed out that they deserve serious penalties. However, taking into consideration their assurances, supported by the leadership of the USSR Gosagroprom and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building that the situation will be put right very rapidly, the session decided to limit itself to issuing a strict warning to them.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR Gosagroprom, a USSR Council of Ministers State Commission, and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building to organize thorough work to eliminate the shortcomings noted. It has been decided that at the beginning of next year the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium will, for monitoring purposes, hear their reports on the work which has been done.

V.A. Shamshin, USSR minister of communications, delivered a statement on the third question on the agenda. It was noted that the sharp increase in readers' demand for many publications is a manifestation of people's profound interest in the success of restructuring and their high degree of social activeness. However, major shortcomings and blunders have been allowed in organizing the subscription to newspapers and journals for 1989, giving rise to serious complaints from working people, primarily in connection with the introduction of restrictions on subscriptions to a number of popular publications.

In early September the USSR Council of Ministers sought additional paper resources for next year. However, the USSR Ministry of Communications and the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing

Plants, and the Book Trade failed to adopt a sufficiently active stance in implementing the opportunities opened up here for eliminating restrictions in the subscription to newspapers and journals.

The USSR Government has taken into account the USSR minister of communications' statement that the restrictions on the subscription to all publications are being lifted. Decisions have been made on questions impeding an increase next year in the publication of the journals DRUZHBA NARODOV, OGONEK, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The subscription deadline has been extended to 15 November this year.

It has been deemed expedient to hear in January 1989, at a session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, reports from the USSR minister of light industry, the USSR minister of heavy, power, and transport machine building, and the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Houses, and the Book Trade on measures to create capacities for the production of newspapers and journals and the provision of the necessary quantity of paper. The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for social development has been instructed to analyze the state of affairs with regard to departmental publications, taking into account here the restructuring of the organizational structure of management which is under way, and to submit proposals for a fundamental improvement of the practice of subscription in the country. For 1990 the subscription to all newspapers and journals will begin 2 January 1989.

A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, and N.V. Talyzin, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, took part in the USSR Council of Ministers session. N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chaired the session.

Ryzhkov Comments Cited

LD1910232288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Political Observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov, identified by screen caption]

[Text] A USSR Council of Ministers session examined the following issues: the progress of the country's socioeconomic development and the tasks for the end of 1988, the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decisions on the manufacturing and improving technical standards of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and the state of affairs in newspaper and periodical subscription for 1989.

[Tikhomirov] Opening this session, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said, in part:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] If on this platform we only deal with, only talk about every percentage point, every tonne of coal—we need this, we need this, without it the national economy cannot function—but fail to notice the economic processes that are taking place, the positive and the negative trends, of which we have the former and the latter, we of course, as they say, are not going to be in the mainstream of our economic reform. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] That is why the very formulation of the first item on the agenda was changed. They examined not the results of state plan fulfillment—like they used to every quarter—but the progress, the movement which, we have to say, is far from simple, far from straightforward at this stage of our life. And this time the figures in a report by Comrade Maslyukov, Gosplan chairman, were not simply read out but were practically compared with one another, which displayed either hope or a very alarming picture. [video shows session in progress; Ryzhkov speaking; Maslyukov at podium]

For example, over the last 9 months national income has gone up by 4.7 percent as compared to the same period last year, while deliveries of foodstuffs to trade fell short by over a billion rubles in comparison with the plan. So which one of these figures is going to dominate the people's awareness? The second one, of course. It is precisely around it and other such figures that the discussion centered. And the direct culprits were named—leaders of the Gosagroprom, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Ministry of the Fishing Industry. It was emphasized that many of the critical problems were connected with the country's serious financial situation, that the state's expenditure continued to grow faster than its revenues. [video shows Tikhomirov in studio]. Finance Minister Gostev cited several, frankly speaking, startling examples of enterprises consuming more than they give to the state. At the (Starokrymskiy) combine, for example, the growth in wages exceeded profits by R72,000. And the bank continues to pay money out as commanded by the local party and soviet bodies. [video shows Gostev at podium; Tikhomirov in studio]

Here is another fact. Have a look at these photographs and I will explain. [video shows a series of black and white stills of pipes and other scrap metal scattered in the open] The Ministry of the Petroleum Industry was putting pressure on the Council of Ministers and declaring that it would (?not) produce the required volume of oil since the Gosplan had not provided pipes, had not bought them abroad. Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov proposed that these photographs be shown on television. Hundreds of thousands of pipes bought for gold lay scattered around the Siberian marshes. They are used as piles; quarries are filled with them. The question of scrap metal arose and was resolved in 15 minutes. That is, it was decided that the state order for scrap metal is not going to be withdrawn, that the state order will continue,

because with the attitude that exists in many industries concerning scrap metal collection the industry could simply stop because of a metal shortage.

Here is one more figure; it's unbelievable. It turns out that in the Gosagroprom system there are 14,500 loss-making enterprises; of these only 6,500 are kolkhozes and sovkhozes, while the rest are some sort of intermediate enterprises and offices. Naturally, the question was asked how the Agroprom proposes to solve this problem. Agromprom Deputy Chairman Sizenko replied:

[Begin recording] [Sizenko] We, Nikolay Ivanovich, see the main way...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] Completely different things.

[Sizenko] ...the main way of eliminating loss-making in truly implementing financial autonomy to the full extent and going over to a leasing basis. That is the main way; we see no other alternative.

[Ryzhkov] You see, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, Mikhail Sergeyevich said on 12 October that leasing relations are not going to get going as long as we pay out money that's not earned. That was more or less the sense of it. Today Boris Ivanovich Gostev put it another way. A button is pressed, says he, and the command is issued: Pay! So what is going on? They country's leadership is saying one thing and the local principles are completely different. I do not think that the Gosagroprom system—please understand me correctly, when we say USSR Gosagroprom I mean not just the apparatus that's in Moscow, but also, here, we have the chairmen of the republic's councils of ministers here.

So is this button pressed without your knowledge? Or is it that it's you who make them press this button and give the banks instructions to pay out the money? I am surprised at our bankers. How do they propose to work in the new economic reform? Anything you like, or what? These times have passed. We have given them a name—bureaucratic directive planning and work—and so on. We have to put an end to this business. You know, we are going to hold the bankers to strict account if they carry on working like this, anything you like. There have to be economic relations. [end recording] [video shows Sizenko at podium; Ryzhkov speaking from his desk]

[Tikhomirov] Having attended the Council of Ministers session today—and this is the first time we have filmed such a session—I can answer perhaps two groups of viewers who write to our editorial office. Some are surprised—don't they know up at the top that that there is no soap or laundry detergent on sale, for example? They do. The discussion was about those things that are talked about everywhere and written about in the papers. They know and they are taking steps.

The second group of viewers considers that the government will always find some trump card in reserve, dig up some money somewhere, (?from under the mattress), as they say. They won't let us die, as they say, they'll come to our aid. Well, there is no such trump card. As we work so will we live, all together, as a nation.

Television To Carry 21 Oct Government Session

PM1910123188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with N. Makarov, chief specialist of the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department, by correspondent F. Ivanov under the rubric "TV and Us": "Government Session on Air"; date, place not given]

[Text] Reportage from the USSR Council of Ministers session will be relayed on Channel One at 1935 on 21 October. N. Makarov, chief specialist of the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent about the preparations for this broadcast.

[Ivanov] Nikolay Yakovlevich, the hour before the "Vremya" program is the "hottest" in television. Will viewers, who are always inclined to watch something interesting at that time, not find it boring to listen to a dry "semiofficial report"?

[Makarov] I am sure that those who tune their television sets to Channel One next Friday will not be disappointed. I am convinced of this by the reaction of viewers who watched the first two reports from USSR Council of Ministers sessions. We receive many comments in which people welcome this undertaking and ask to be informed in greater detail about the government's work, particularly when very important questions of the country's life are being examined.

I will remind you that the previous reports from the Council of Ministers described the discussion of the draft laws on taxation for cooperative members and on product quality. It should be pointed out that the initiative to conduct such broadcasts belongs to the leadership of the Council of Ministers, which believes that when discussing and preparing important state issues it is necessary to not only make wider use of the opinions of various specialists and the public but also regularly provide it with information both on the decisions adopted and on the very process of formulating them.

[Ivanov] Describe the agenda for the Council of Ministers session to be transmitted next Friday....

[Makarov] The first item involves the results of financial and economic activity during the first 9 months of this year. The second involves the implementation of measures for retooling the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex. We know that, owing to the poor quality of processing, long transportation, and unskilled

storage of agricultural products, as much as 25-30 percent of them do not reach the consumer. This exacerbates the shortage of products and forces the state to spend currency on buying them abroad. I have in my hands the statistical summary "The USSR National Economy in 1987" [Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1987 godu], which has just been published. According to the data cited in it, last year we imported 30.4 million tonnes of grain, 858,000 tonnes of meat, and 403,000 tonnes of butter. That is considerably more than a few years ago.

Yet if we succeeded in raising the standard of processing and storage of agricultural raw materials, it would be possible to increase food resources by a good one-fourth in the very near future and by more than that for some of them. As you see, the problem is very acute and concerns everyone.

For the first time television viewers will be able to learn of the contribution to resolving this problem made by various sectors of the defense industry which, by virtue of their high level of technical equipment, are entrusted with producing machinery for the processing sectors.

The discussion of the third item on the agenda—the organization of subscriptions to 1989 periodicals—also promises to be sharp. I believe that session participants have accumulated many questions to put to those who supply us with newspapers and journals.

[Ivanov] The broadcast will take only just over 1 hour of air time and, naturally, will not cover the whole session. Why not organize a live report from the USSR Council of Ministers?

[Makarov] Sessions on major, complex problems last 6-8 hours, and hardly everyone wishes to spend so much time in front of the television screen. But viewers can be certain that the broadcast will definitely cover the most interesting and important portions of the session. Our task is to tell people in the fullest way, hiding nothing, about the problems which the country's government is resolving.

I hope that such broadcasts will appear on television regularly, covering the discussion at the USSR Council of Ministers of all key questions of economic and political life.

Minister Yezhevskiy 'Released' on Retirement

LD1910164388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Aleksandr Yezhevskiy from his duties as USSR minister of agricultural machinery and tractor manufacture in connection with his retirement on a pension.

Moscow Editor Recounts Politburo Shake-Up

PM1410153488 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 12 Oct 88 p 8

[Sergio Segri report on Yegor Yakovlev undated news conference in Moscow: "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Editor Recounts Background to Plenum: 'Gromyko Knew He Had to Go'"]

[Text] Moscow—Gromyko? "He and Gorbachev understood one another." Ligachev? "He goes down in history as the only Politburo member openly criticized by the press." This was Gorbachev's "revolution," as recounted by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI editor Yegor Yakovlev. Following a struggle to defend the right to report the trial of Brezhnev's son-in-law, the rumor was that Yakovlev had resigned. The editorial board protested, however.

"When the time comes to replace the old guard, it must be done right away, without wasting time. No, nothing dramatic happened at the September plenum. Everything had already been prepared by the June conference...." Yegor Yakovlev, editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, flagship of restructuring, played things down, with an air of amusement and tranquility. He admitted to Italian journalists, over lunch at Italian Ambassador Sergio Romano's sumptuous and historic residence on Vesnin Street, that he knew absolutely nothing about the background to the events. "I was in Italy," he said, as if in justification, adding: "Do you really believe that I am really interested whether Petr Demichev no longer holds the post of Gromyko's deputy in the Supreme Soviet? Come now, what concerns us all is how to advance restructuring...."

Yakovlev did not say so, but we had heard that he had submitted his resignation. Was he tired of his job after 35 years? Not at all. The rumor is that somebody accused his paper of providing too much detail about the trial of Brezhnev's son-in-law Churbanov. It was desired to secure the reporter's dismissal, in Yakovlev's absence. The latter apparently threatened to leave as well. The editorial board's line prevailed at two party meetings. So here was Yakovlev, still in his place, ready to answer our questions.

[Journalist] Tell us about the "crisis period." What happened within the Politburo?

[Yakovlev] Believe me: Absolutely nothing dramatic happened. The time for the change had come and it was carried out. Gromyko and Gorbachev agreed that the former should retire. The decision for Gromyko to leave the Presidium presidency prompted all the other decisions in a chain reaction....

[Journalist] Would you have us believe that Gromyko was not dismissed?

[Yakovlev] Certainly. He has retained all his privileges, so to speak. We wanted to photograph him in his garden but we were stopped by policemen.

[Journalist] But why the excitement and haste, with Minister Shevardnadze leaving New York suddenly to return to Moscow?

[Yakovlev] There was no hurry, as far as I know. Matters had been decided on at the conference. I do not rule out the possibility that Gorbachev's visit to Krasnoyarsk—where the situation is difficult—persuaded him to accelerate matters....

[Journalist] How do you view the country's situation?

[Yakovlev] The economic reform entails serious difficulties that are creating openings for the right-wing forces. In Leningrad a group calling themselves "the real patriots of St Petersburg" has distributed posters against "the Gorbachev and Aleksandr Yakovlev clique."

[Journalist] Where do you identify the most stubborn resistance?

[Yakovlev] Well, the reform is prompting the most unexpected reactions. Seeing demonstrators in Pushkin Square, my chauffeur asked me: "Why don't they disperse them?" One old man telephoned IZVESTIYA—whose offices are on the same square—to try to persuade them to install a machine gun on the roof. Basically, however, it is not true that the majority are Stalinists in the USSR. The majority are simply uninformed.

[Journalist] Who is the current "second-in-command?"

[Yakovlev] Officially there has never been one. Stalin tried it with Lenin. Furthermore, all problems are now resolved by the commissions; the filter provided by the Secretariat no longer exists. The commissions are now directly linked with the Politburo.

[Journalist] But was it not Ligachev—now in charge of agriculture—who took command in Gorbachev's absence?

[Yakovlev] He appeared to be "second-in-command" because he presided over Secretariat meetings when Gorbachev was away. Sometimes he would even convene us journalists.

[Journalist] Did Gorbachev delegate all ideological matters to Ligachev?

[Yakovlev] If so, I would not be here to talk about it....

[Journalist] So who is Ligachev? Is he as strong as people say?

[Yakovlev] He has undoubtedly become a historic figure. He is the first Politburo member to be criticized by the press.... [Yakovlev ends]

As the meeting drew to a close editor Yakovlev provided an illuminating aid to interpreting Gorbachev's policy, and one that also explains certain recent developments. "At the start," he said, "I really did not understand this Gorbachev. What did he want? I found it difficult to understand his stubborn commitment to restructuring, his concern with winning the masses over to the new 'revolution.' Then I realized that he wants this struggle to produce no winners or losers. I believe he is right: Otherwise the struggle will not end. A victory by force would simply refuel the opposition."

[Journalist] Was this what Boris Yeltsin wanted?

[Yakovlev] Yeltsin wanted a one-way street: It was either him or Ligachev. The result is that Ligachev is still here, whereas Yeltsin is on another road.

Solzhenitsyn Announcement Reportedly Censored

AU2010083288 Paris AFP in English 0813 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 20 (AFP)—Soviet authorities last week stopped distribution of a leading Soviet literary journal which was to announce the forthcoming publication of previously-banned works by exiled Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, reliable Soviet sources told AFP Thursday.

The 1.1 million copies of the October edition of the monthly NOVYY MIR had been printed with the announcement when a "high-level" telephone call ordered its censorship, the sources said. The contents page containing the announcement had to be reset and the page reprinted.

A copy of the original announcement obtained by AFP said: "The editorial board has received the permission of Alexander Solzhenitsyn to publish a number of his works".

NOVYY MIR had written to Solzhenitsyn after deciding on September 7 to publish the Gulag Archipelago, documenting Soviet labour camps, and the novels First Circle and Cancer Ward. None of the three have been published in the Soviet Union.

The author agreed to publication, but on condition that Gulag Archipelago be published first, the sources said. The Gulag Archipelago was the work which led to the writer's expulsion from the Soviet Union in February 1974. He was accused of treason and ordered into exile after being stripped of his citizenship.

Tatar Nationalists Hold Rally in Tashkent

AU1910202188 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 19 (AFP)—Some 500 Crimean Tatars gathered at a stadium in the Uzbekistan capital Tashkent to commemorate the founding of the short-lived autonomous Crimean Republic, a spokesman for the group said Wednesday.

Similar demonstrations, by Crimean Tatars who want the republic reestablished, were held in the Uzbek towns of Fergana and Namangan, as well as in Leninabad, in the Republic of Tajikistan.

Speaking by telephone from the Soviet Central Asian region, Server Tuvarchi told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE it was the first time Soviet federal authorities had allowed such a rally in Tashkent.

All the demonstrations, held Tuesday, went off peacefully, he added.

The autonomous Crimean Republic, founded October 18, 1921, was made part of the Ukraine by Stalin at the end of World War II. In May 1944, he ordered mass deportations of Crimean Tatars to Central Asia. Many of them now want to return.

Sumgait 'Pogrom' Trial Opens in Moscow

PM1910142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Trial Begins"]

[Text] The trial of people guilty [povinnyy] of involvement in the mass riots in Sumgait has begun in the USSR Supreme Court building in Moscow.

The Soviet people will always remember the tragic events of February 1988 in Sumgait. People died during the mass riots organized by criminal elements hostile to all the fine and good things for which the Soviet international [internatsionalnyy] way of life in our country has always been renowned. Many people were injured. Homes, apartments, and cultural and consumer premises were smashed and robbed. Those involved in the pogrom were mainly young people provoked by rumors circulated deliberately. The blind, mindless malice was terrifying....

Retribution is inevitable. A.I. Akhmedov, I.A. Ismalilov, and Ya.G. Dzhafarov are in the dock, accused of organizing and being directly involved in the mass riots which were accompanied by pogroms, arson, and murder.

The trial is presided over by USSR Supreme Court member R.K. Brize. USSR Supreme Court people's assessors V.A. Kuznetsov and V.S. Smirnov are also on the bench. V.D. Kozlovskiy, USSR assistant general prosecutor, is prosecuting.

Lawyers G. Abdulayev, Z.M. Sadykhova, and V.A. Yashin are conducting the defense; the victims' interests are represented in court by lawyers P.L. Shaposhnikova and R.V. Rshtuni.

The accused can use the services of an interpreter if need be.

The reading of the indictment began on the first day of the trial.

Yerevan Reports Opening

NC2010083588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] On page 4, the newspaper carries a TASS item reporting that the trial of those guilty for the mass unrest in Sumgait has begun in the USSR Supreme Court building in Moscow.

On the same page the newspaper carries a report by the paper's correspondent, Gasparyan, from the court's hallway. The report says in part: Investigations have revealed that during the mass unrest in Sumgait 32 people were killed, more than 400 people received various degrees of injuries, more than 200 homes were burned down and (?looted), and more than 50 vital cultural buildings and more than 40 transportation units were (?damaged). The damages suffered by the state are estimated to be R7 million. The burning down of homes, the lootings, and the mass killings have been condemned by various [word indistinct] groups.

Azeri 'Extremism' Worries Authorities

AU1910132088 Paris AFP in English 1310 GMT 19 Oct 88

[By Sophie Shihab]

[Text] Baku, Soviet Union, Oct 19 (AFP)—Local authorities in the Azerbaijan capital here are openly alarmed about Azeri militants who say they are determined to maintain control of the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, despite rumors that Moscow might give the area back to neighboring Armenia.

"That would be a catastrophe," said Anar Rzaev, the head of the Azerbaijan Writers' Union, referring to persistent rumors that Soviet authorities may return the disputed territory, originally ceded to Azerbaijan in 1923, to Armenia.

Fears of local extremism have been particularly evident here since February, when according to official reports, a total 32 people were killed and more than 400 wounded when Moslem Azeris went on a three-day pogrom in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait hunting Christian Aremians.

Mr. Rzaev told AFP that "anarchist religious tendencies" were growing in the predominantly-Muslim republic, and continued efforts to preach a more tolerant attitude towards the 200,000 Armenians in Baku—about one-tenth of its population—were having little impact.

"There are people here who hate everything, who hate me and the Writers' Union," he said.

In a dormitory room at the local university, a student named Vaguif, with the enthusiastic approval of his fellow students, declares to a visitor that Nagorno-Karabakh is his territory and he is "ready to die for it."

Vaguif and his friends all said they had taken part in three demonstrations in the center of Baku between February and May. Although the first demonstration attracted only 10,000 people, that number grew to 30,000 for the second, and swelled to 500,000 for the third, the students said.

"But when we wanted to demonstrate again the army stopped us, although at Yerevan (the Armenian capital) demonstrations were allowed," Vaguif complained."

Although claiming to be sympathetic to the Armenians' minority status in Azerbaijan, the students were also quick to air their grievances against "Armenian provocation" they said led to last February's riots in Sumgait, just a half-hour's drive north of here.

According to the official tally, the dead were 26 Armenians and six Azeris.

The students said recent reforms by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had allowed them to talk more openly about their sympathy for the Turks—whose language is related to theirs—and about hopes to unite someday with the 15 million Azeris they said lived in Iran.

"But unlike the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, we have not gone on strike," one student said, adding "we are still part of the Soviet Union."

"At least for now," said another, as the other students in the room erupted in laughter.

Although Azerbaijan is a predominantly Muslim republic, the students said the Iranian regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni held little attraction.

What moved them instead, they said, was their passion for Turkish literature and the fight for the restoration of their culture. They also were keen to denounce the woes of excessive industrialization,

Still, Mr. Rzaev, the president of the Writer's Union, finds any signs of resurgent Muslim militancy worrisome.

On Monday, he said, one thousand persons showed up to commemorate the anniversary of the execution of an Azeri writer under the regime of Stalin in 1938.

Several people in the crowd were insistent that a mullah participate in the services. "We are not against such things, but why bring religion into it?" he asked.

For the moment, however, Baku is calm. No government troops are visible and the only patrols are local militia without arms, two of whom were playing the local version of backgammon with a group of old men.

Armenia's Academy of Sciences Discusses NKAO

PM1910150188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Oct 88 p 1

[ARMENPRES report: "Scientists' Concern"]

[Text] A general meeting of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences was held recently. Academician V. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, opened the meeting with an introductory speech.

The leaders of the republic's creative unions also took part in the work of the meeting. The complex situation which has taken shape in the republic was discussed. The speakers—Academicians E. Agayan, A. Arakelyan, G. Brutyan, G. Garibdzhanyan, B. Arakelyan, G. Dzhaukyan, and M. Dzhrbashyan, corresponding members R. Kazaryan, V. Barkhudaryan, V. Nalbandyan, and G. Simonyan, Doctors of Sciences Kh. Barsegyan, N. Oganesyan, and Sh. Badanyan, E. Mirzoyan, chairman of the board of the Composers Union, and the poetess S. Kaputikyan—noted that the events taking place in Yerevan are directly linked to the alarming situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and to the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 18 July 1988 resolution is being implemented extremely slowly.

Moreover, as recent events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have shown, even the safety of the oblast's Armenian population is not being ensured. All this cannot fail to generate deep disquiet among the Armenian SSR's working people. Disrupting the process of stabilization and leading to the resumption of meetings, demonstrations, and strikes have been, on the one hand, the reports which have come in from Nagorno-Karabakh of the inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] clashes which have arisen as a result of provocation and of which Armenians have mostly been the victims and, on the other, the passionate commentaries on what is taking place and the reports which distort the real state

of affairs. The people interpreted the events in Khodzhaly village as a continuation of what took place in Sumgait and Masisskiy Rayon.

The scientists noted that at the meetings in Yerevan, alongside the just protests, individual irresponsible people have voiced opinions aimed against the vital interests of the Armenian people and have issued calls for organizing strikes and disrupting classes. These statements could cause great harm and lead to grave consequences. They could harm the fair solution of the Artsakh question and do not reflect the Armenian people's feelings and aspirations. Such statements, like calls for strikes, should be resolutely rejected and denounced.

The speakers emphasized that if the central media, by their one-sided attitude, sometimes disorient readers and listeners by creating an erroneous impression of the situation in our republic, then the Armenian newspapers are incomprehensibly adopting a passive stance on this question and are failing to show truthfully the situation which has taken shape and the reasons for it, which would greatly help to reduce the pitch of passions.

The meeting voiced proposals which, in the opinion of the participants, could promote the normalization of the tense situation. In particular the scientists expressed the idea that the only possible and fair solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh question is the oblast's withdrawal from the Azerbaijan SSR. And for that it is expedient that this question, like the questions of the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 24 March 1988 resolution and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 18 July 1988 resolution, should be examined at the forthcoming session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting instructed the leaders of the departments and institutes of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences to launch active work with a view to easing tension in the republic and returning public life to normal channels.

It has been deemed expedient to create in the Academy of Sciences a special commission which would coordinate and implement measures aimed at rendering aid to Artsakh in the field of science and technology.

The Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences general meeting urged all Armenian working people to remain loyal to the age-old traditions of the industrious Armenian people and, with an awareness of the need to hold high their honor, to embark on constructive work, seeing in it a guarantee of the solution of the problems facing our republic and the questions of the assertion of social justice, the ecology, the prevention of emigration, and other topical tasks.

F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and G. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in and addressed the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences general meeting. A. Melkonyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee science and educational establishments department, took part in the meeting.

Moscow Gorkom Officials Meet Local Armenians

PM2010091188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 2

[Own correspondent S. Zheltov telephone report: "Voice of Moscow's Armenian Public"]

[Text] Moscow—A meeting of representatives of the Armenian public of Moscow and workers of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom took place 4 October at the Armenian SSR's permanent mission at the USSR Council of Ministers. Those present included party and soviet workers, scientists, cultural figures, young students, and party and labor veterans. There was a discussion of a broad range of questions connected with the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and the tragic events in Sumgait and Khodzhaly.

"Our meeting," A. Arkatov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorkom propaganda department, said in his speech, "has been generated by mutual interests. Its aim is to understand you better, to find points of contact, and to formulate acceptable solutions. I think this will be of greater benefit than spontaneous demonstrations and excessive feelings and emotions. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is perceived in Moscow in close connection with restructuring and the fate of socialism. Serious concern is to be observed on the part of individual strata of the population in connection with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. Serious rebukes should be leveled at our press. The mass media does not always cover events promptly or objectively enough."

The meeting passed in a spirit of frankness and open exchange of opinion. Over 20 people put their views. They spoke with deep anguish and alarm of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. You cannot find a single Armenian living in Moscow who has not been shaken and moved to the depths of his soul by these events. It was noted that the sooner the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is resolved, the sooner life will return to its usual working rhythm. You will achieve nothing by merely calling for the consolidation of the friendship of the peoples and international cohesion. Urgent and resolute measures are needed. We must put right the historical error allowed in the twenties and satisfy the just demand of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast working people for the oblast to join the Armenian SSR. It is necessary to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 18 July 1988 resolution aimed at accelerating Nagorno-Karabakh's socioeconomic development.

The speakers suggested that inasmuch as Muscovites and the party gorkom are not informed fully or comprehensively enough with regard to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, a "roundtable" or Moscow-Yerevan-Stepanakert television linkup should be held. The painful subject should be openly discussed and the audience should be put in the know. In particular the speakers would like to hear a Central Television statement from A.I. Volskiy, the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The crimes in Sumgait must be thoroughly investigated and for that the court proceedings must be transferred to the USSR Supreme Court.

Those taking part in the talk requested that the holding of mass meetings at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow be allowed. Recently they have appealed twice to the Moscow Soviet on this matter and on both occasions have received a refusal. Nor has the promised hall for holding meetings and gatherings been provided.

The speakers asked that the Moscow CPSU Gorkom be notified of the demands of the Karabakh Armenians, supported by the Armenian working people and Armenian public of Moscow, regarding the need to withdraw Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR and temporarily subordinate it to the country's central organs of power until the problem is definitively resolved.

The press was subjected to serious criticism: The mass media is covering the events in a one-sided and tendentious manner. Errors and distortions of facts are allowed. Moreover, matters sometimes reach the point where national dignity is offended. Several months have already elapsed since the tragedy in Sumgait, yet the newspapers and television are reporting nothing about the trial of those guilty of killing people. It would be desirable to organize a meeting between Moscow's Armenian public and the editors of central newspapers and television. Workers of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department should be invited to it.

The meeting was attended by E. Aykazyan, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' permanent representative at the USSR Council of Ministers.

Lithuanians React to IAEA Head's Remarks

LD1910102788 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] The deputy director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Morris Rosen, visit in Lithuania has not calmed the concern of the Lithuanian public who are worried about the security of the atomic power plant in Ignalina.

Mr Rosen has remarked at the recent press conference in Vilnius that incidents which took place at the nuclear power plant in Ignalina do not point to its exclusive position in the Soviet Union. At the same time, he stressed that he could make only a general picture of his impressions during his visit to the plant because it was too short.

Mr Rosen's visit to the atomic power plant is believed to have been arranged as an alternative to the Lithuanian public demand to have an international commission sent in to the Ignalina atomic power plant.

The heated atmosphere during the recent press conference disappointed the Ministry of the Soviet Atomic Power Engineering because they were the initiators of this visit. Mr Rosen did not expect to meet the audience where there was deep knowledge of the situation of the plant. Among those present at the press conference were also prominent energy specialists of Lituania. Lithuania's specialists did not accept the guest's generalizations, and even more, Mr Rosen's support of the construction of the third atomic reactor in Ignalina prompted an angry reaction among the audience.

As is known, the Lithuanian government's strong stand on the question has temporarily halted the construction work which frozen [as heard].

It was announced at the press conference in Vilnius that the Lithuanian public will continue to demand an international commission to examine the atomic power plant in Ignalina.

Shepetis' Appeal for Calm Published 5 Oct

WA18000064A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Oct 88 p 3

[ELTA report: "Maintaining Order"]

[Text] On 3 October in the evening L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, appeared on the republic Television program "Panorama." Appealing to television viewers he stated:

"As is known, a very bitter, unpleasant incident took place, or was provoked, on 28 September of this year in Vilnius. At Gediminas Square, people gathered for a meeting which was not sanctioned by city authorities and flagrant force was used against them. Both officials and participants were victims, which is regretable. This is a bitter lesson for the present and for the future. A government commission, consisting of representatives of the public and a group of members of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, has been formed to investigate this.

In regard to this incident, dear comrades, I would like to mention once more that we live in tense times, and any kind of confrontation brings no one anything other than harm.

At this time an active reports and elections campaign is taking place in party organizations and the restructuring movement is preparing for its first congress. In a word, everyone has more than enough to do. There is much work to be done in solving the concrete tasks of restructuring and in the more active improvement of the economic well-being and spiritual state of the people. Therefore, let us eliminate the causes of these tensions, and observe peace and order.

Thank you for your attention."

Ignalina AES Reports Radioactivity Levels

WA18000064C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Week at the Ignalina AES"]

[Text] The editors of the newspaper THE PEACEFUL ATOM, which is published at the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station, have announced that for the period from 23-29 September emissions of radioactive matter into the atmosphere consisted of: .9 percent of the permissible level of inert radioactive gases, .065 percent of the permissible level of long-lived radionuclides, 2.6 percent of the permissible level of iodide-131.

The background gamma radiation in the village of Snechkus was 9-11 microroentgens per hour. Both AES power units were not in operation up to 4 October.

'Lithuanian Freedom League' Activity Criticized

WA18000064B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 October 88 p 3

[ELTA report: "Yesterday at Chernyakhovskiy Square"]

[Text] On 4 October in Vilnius on Chernyakhovskiy Square the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement organized an action [aktsiya] whose purpose was to call upon members of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee to more actively solve questions of broadening democracy, strengthening law and order, and intensifying glasnost, as well as other problems posed by restructuring. Consequences of the incident which took place in Vilnius on 28-29 September were underscored.

After the proposals of the initative group of the restructuring movement were presented at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the movement ended its action.

It is disappointing that after this representatives of the "Lithuanian Freedom League" attempted to continue this action.

Readers' Criticisms of Popular Front Answered

WA18000037 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 2 Sep 88 pp 2-3

[Report by Olga Avdevich: "'Precisely Their Own View!' The Readers Continue Their Discussion On the Popular Front"]

[Text] *"...I have been a subscriber to your newspaper for many years. Now, however, it has begun to change its content, printing only articles it deems suitable, dropping the others into the wastebasket. I cannot believe that the editors have not received letters similar to mine."*

"I am not sure that the editors of SM will dare to publish my letter."

"Why is it that problems related to the establishment of the Popular Front are considered by the newspaper one-sidedly? I demand that my viewpoint be published!"

Today our readers have the floor. The discussion is focused on the creation of a Popular Front in our republic. A great variety of viewpoints, in some cases totally conflicting, have been expressed. We try to preserve the color of the readers' views and the range of opinions expressed. This does not mean that the editors agree with all the views published here. Today we are giving the floor to those who accuse us of suppression and one-sidedness in the interpretation of the problem, so that we may retain the trust of the readers in the newspaper and keep the faith that their words will be read.

Aleksey Gusev, deputy party committee secretary, Latekstiltorg Wholesale Base:

The television debate on the creation of a Popular Front, which took place on Latvian television, raised many questions and triggered great doubts. Let me, above all, point out the following: If our Popular Front is established in the likeness of its brother in Estonia where, as the press reported, members of non-Estonian origin account for less than 10 percent of the tens of thousands of the front's membership, how could this front be considered **popular?** The result is that this is a **national front,** which will express exclusively the aspirations of one segment of the republic. I am disturbed by the presence in the initiative group of individuals who cynically proclaim their support of the nationalistic idea. This is a matter for concern. If this is manifested as of now, when the organization is only being established, what could we expect in the future, after the front has acquired its organizational shape? If the resolution adopted at the plenum of the Latvian Writers' Union is the only programmatic document of the front, this would no longer be a popular but a national front.

The statements made by some members of the initiative group clearly reveal the idea that under certain circumstances the Popular Front could become an alternative to the Communist Party, the soviet system, and the public

organizations. I believe that such views must be repealed. Otherwise, I fear, the situation may develop in such a way that the Popular Front will express the interests of only one segment of the population, opening a profound gap between it and the rest.

It is noteworthy that in the course of the television debate words such as socialism, communist, communism, internationalism, and the Leninist policy of friendship among the peoples were virtually not heard. I fear that this front will not serve national unity. It is not excluded that some segment loyal to proletarian and socialist internationalism will find itself, under the proletarian Soviet flags, on one side of the barricade, while the other, having lost its way as a result of demagogic appeals and nationalistic feelings, under the red-white-red flag, will find itself on the other side of the barricade.

I would like to suggest to the initiative group not to speed up the creation of a Popular Front in the republic, where the question of relations among nationalities is by no means properly solved and where a hasty and controversial step could do more harm than good.

R. Ivanov, CPSU member, veteran of the Soviet Armed Forces:

Discussions on the need for restructuring are not in themselves a reason for an organization such as the Popular Front. The main thing has not been established: Will the Popular Front help the party, the soviets, and the trade unions to improve the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country? Would this organization become yet another mob of critical bawlers who, instead of engaging in constructive work, will engage in self-promotion? Such trends may be seen in the speeches of a number of representatives of the initiative group, who took part in the "TV-Political Debate Club" on 25 July. For example, we heard the appeal to begin by bringing order in the political organization of society, to "shake up the government", and only then deal with current socioeconomic problems. It is true that a number of participants in the discussion immediately opposed such statements. The demand was raised of involving in the Popular Front Communists, Komsomol members, and members of the trade unions. Comrade Chepanis, first secretary of the Liyepayskiy Raykom, justly noted that nothing in our country prohibits self-expression in active constructive toil. Go and work. We have neglected land, we have a scarcity of manpower in industry. One should not promote oneself through shouts or beat one's chest from surplus energy. This will not increase the amount of meat, milk, sugar, or apartments.

The participants in the discussion kept referring to the Estonian and the Moscow Popular Fronts. I believe that the creation of such a thing, something which has not existed previously in our country, would be attractive to those who would like to find themselves at the head of something, regardless of what it may be, as long as it is to the detriment of society. The Popular Front groups in Moscow and, particularly, in Tallinn, have no positive experience. Thus, the non-Estonian segment of the population set up its own International Front, and held big meetings under red flags and with slogans of proletarian internationalism. Would the creation of a new organization not lead to a similar aggravation of the situation here as well?

During the years of stagnation and Stalinism many party members discredited the title of Communist. Now, awakened by glasnost, we are finding out about the crimes committed by those degenerates with party cards in their pockets, crimes committed in the name of the party. At the same time, however, we are also finding out the truth about those party members who remained loyal to the end to the ideals of Leninism, who fought for them and who died in the struggle. It is precisely them, through their own actions and, sometimes, tragic death, that helped the people preserve its faith in the party. As a whole, the party was, is, and will remain the vanguard of the Soviet people and its most conscious, industrious, and vital part. The party awakened the people from the lethargic sleep of the cult of personality and the post-cult slumber. The party called the people to restructuring and the party alone can lead the people on this difficult path.

It is time to convert from statements on shortcomings and unfinished work by past leaders to specific work to implement the resolutions of the 19th party conference. Practical experience indicates that today in our country there is no scarcity of blabbers who appeal to go "somewhere, I do not know where." However, we are very short of good workers on all levels. We must seek ways of self-expression in specific socially useful labor.

Almost daily, the editors receive mail marked "Popular Front." Most readers support the creation of the new organization and, which is most valuable, suggest the type of specific actions which the Popular Front must immediately take. We shall continue to publish such letters. Now, however, let us consider the two views we printed. Such views about a new movement are quite widespread. It would be erroneous to pretend that everything is all right and suppress such moods or pay no attention to them. This too is part of public opinion; ignoring it would only worsen the existing situation. It is no secret that the creation of the Popular Front has triggered in a part of the non-Latvian population the fear that it will become a purely national organization; it has triggered fears, tension, and even unconditional rejection. Let us try to analyze the reasons for such feelings. We asked *Sandra Kalniyete, head of the coordination center of the Popular Front,* **to answer the questions raised by the readers.**

[Kalniyete] You are quite right by not ignoring such letters. Today all viewpoints must be taken into consideration. If they exist it means that there are reasons for them and such reasons must be clarified. To us as well this is a signal for alarm, information, and grounds for consideration. The press should not maintain the illusion that everything here is developing quite smoothly.

Today many people disagree with the proposal of adopting as a foundation for the program of the Popular Front the resolution passed at the plenum of the board of the Latvian Writers' Union. They believe that the only document by which we should be guided is the resolution adopted at the 19th all-union party conference.

[Kalniyete] A close reading of the two documents would indicate the great similarity between them. However, the common problems included in the resolution of the Writers' plenum appeared to be concentrated on the local conditions of our republic. There are many who think that national problems were exaggerated at the plenum. Such is not the case. The attention was focused on environmental protection, health care, education, and the national economy. This affects anyone who lives in the republic, be he Russian, Lett, Belorussian or Jew.... Speaking of the national problem, in my view all such problems are precisely quite clearly reflected in the resolution passed at the 19th party conference on internationality relations, in Gorbachev's speech at the plenum which followed the conference and, naturally, in the speeches made by Yakovlev in Lithuania and in our republic. The main thing is that a clear distinction was made in them between what is national and what is nationalistic. What is national is culture, language, and tradition. What is nationalism is the claim to exclusivity compared with other nations and violating the rights of citizens of another nationality. Unfortunately, today not everyone makes a distinction between the concept of "nationalism" and that of "national," frequently confusing the two. It is time for us to lift the political veil from the "national" concept. When it is a question of restoring to Latvia a sovereign economic and social policy, the state rights of the republic, and the drafting of a status of the rights of the republic's citizens, many people perceive this as a nationalistic sally. However, we must not forget that all of these are steps toward the restoration of the Leninist concept of a union republic. Work on all such problems—and in terms of all republics, and not Latvia alone—is currently taking place on the all-union level.

Incidentally, the resolution passed at the plenum of the Writers' Union clearly stipulates the need to ensure the observance of the principles of internationalism and respect for the rights and human dignity of citizens who live in Latvia, regardless of their nationality.

It seems to me that one of the reasons for a biased attitude toward the plenum of creative associations on the part of the non-Latvian population is the lack of information. Ignorance leads to the appearance of intrigues and rumors. Hence a situation of tension and mistrust. Essentially, some people simply do not know what was discussed at the plenum....

[Kalniyete] I consider it a grave political error that the addresses at the plenum were not immediately published, on a parallel basis, in the Russian language as well. At that point the people would have been given the opportunity to form a judgment about the plenum on the basis of specific data and not rumors. Incidentally, the participants in the plenum have already discussed the resolution in a number of labor collectives. As a rule, after 2 or 3 hours of such talk any prejudice concerning the resolution disappears. We must simply try to understand one another. It seems to me that we must approach anything that is currently taking place also from the positions of morality. We rarely think about this. The people must show tolerance toward one another. This applies to relations among nationalities also. In general, tolerance is an inseparable quality of a cultured, intelligent person. For the time being—why conceal it—the Letts are not always tolerant of the Russians or the Russians of the Letts. Here as well we need a mutual desire for understanding and, I repeat, tolerance. Otherwise, of what type of development of culture could there be a question?

We speak of a mutual desire for understanding. However, understanding implies knowledge. The non-Latvian part of the population is poorly oriented in social life also because it is not obtaining reliable information. Because of the linguistic barrier, the surmounting of which is a matter of time, many people find themselves excluded from discussions, debates, and arguments which take place in the press and on television.

[Kalniyete] I fully support the idea of broadcasts in the Russian language on Latvian television, of the Labvakar type. Some people have objected to me, saying that allegedly such a telecast would be watched by no one and that, as it were, there are two channels telecasting in the Russian language. This is an error. Such a telecast is necessary, for it would be based on local data and would consider the solution of local problems. I consider it a terrible error also that our television programs come without captions. I believe that we should not try to save on foreign exchange for this. I am pleased that a small step forward has already been made in this area. The most relevant and debatable broadcasts are being transmitted on the radio on a parallel basis.

As long as the linguistic barrier exists, something which must be taken into consideration, no one can avoid it. Today the question of introducing bilingualism is not being truly solved. There are no methods, instruction programs, school aids, or cadres. This is a matter of long-term policy.

Many of our readers fear that the creation of a Popular Front will lead not to the consolidation of forces in defense of restructuring but, conversely, to a division based on national features. In their fears they refer to the Estonian experience, where in opposition to the Estonian Popular Front the Russian-speaking population set up its own International Movement.

[Kalniyete] I recently returned from Estonia where I was precisely interested in the situation within the Popular Front. Currently this alternate International Front is not

enjoying popularity among the Russian-speaking population, which is finding its way within the situation. Not the Russian men of culture, not the technical intelligentsia, nor the truly progressive representatives of the workers are supporting this dissident movement. Therefore, we should not encourage rumors about a national division in Estonia. This only worsens the tension. Furthermore, how can one automatically prognosticate the development of events by analogy with Estonia? Historically, somewhat different relations among nationalities have developed in Latvia. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no conflicts based on national grounds among colleagues in collectives employing Russians and Letts. Russian and Latvian families live beautifully together, like neighbors, sharing a single house. The sallies which some adolescents allow themselves should not be extended to apply to the entire nation. We must not sink to that level, and even less so transfer "trolley bus quarrels" to the general policy level.

Currently throughout the republic support groups for the Popular Front are being created. How actively is the Russian-language population joining in the new movement?

[Kalniyete] For the time being the Letts are more active. However, we do not divide support groups into Russian and Latvian. We have mixed labor collectives. In general, one of the tasks of the Popular Front is to develop in the non-Latvian population a feeling of roots, a feeling of proprietorship and interest in the future of this land. The non-Latvians who live in Latvia should understand that their children and grandchildren will stay here after them. They will live here; this is their homeland and they have no other. In this sense, I set great hope by the Baltic-Slavic society and I think that it will join the Popular Front as one of its support groups. Therefore, we are awaiting the initiative of the Russian-speaking population; we are relying on its help and are interested in its support.

We remind you that the members of the Popular Front Initiative Group are on duty every day from 1600 to 1900 hours in the premises of the Latvian Painters' Union. The address is Riga, 12 Kr. Barona Street, Telephone No 284-735.

Ukrainian Academician Views Language Problem

AU1710085188 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 9 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with V.M. Rusanivkyy, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Philological Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, by RADYANSKA UKRAINA special correspondent I. Dmytrenko: "Our Own Mother Tongue"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] **During the present period of revolutionary changes and the thorough democratization of our socialist society, the impetuous awakening of national consciousness is obvious. Therefore, naturally enough, there has been an increased interest in the history of one's own people, in their culture in the past and present. Along with this comes the concern for the conditions of our own language, a concern voiced by teachers, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and urban and rural laborers. Since attitudes toward this issue are being assumed from various positions, the assessments and the opinions of how to remedy the situation vary.**

A clear answer to this question has been given in the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On Interethnic Relations." This resolution reads: "In every national region it is important that economic and social progress keeps abreast with spiritual progress based on the cultural originality of nations and nationalities." It goes on: "It is essential to create all conditions so that the native-Russian bilingualism develops harmoniously and naturally, taking into account the peculiarities of each region concerned, and that it is free from formalism. More pains are to be taken so that national languages actively function in various spheres of state, public, and cultural life." **The directives are clear and comprehensible. But how about their practical application? In this respect, the opinion of a competent expert is very important, particularly when this issue, which is a long way from being simple, concerns and disturbs him personally. Thus the factors that matter are: competence, involvement, and objectivity! Indeed, this is why we contacted V.M. Rusanivskyy, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Philological Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.**

[Dmytrenko] Vitaliy Makarovych, the usage of the Ukrainian language in our republic, the attitudes toward this language by various groups of the population, and the present actual status of the language and prospects for it in the foreseeable future are very broad subjects. In order not to get lost in details, let us discuss the factors that are determinant. In recent times, opinions have been expressed that the Ukrainian language should be granted the status of an official language. In your opinion, to what extent is such a formulation of the issue itself substantiated and legitimate?

V. Rusanivskyy: There is no doubt whatsoever that the Ukrainian language needs to gain more attention from the public and state organs. But it would be **naive to hope that the prestige of a language could be boosted by new decrees.** People's rule has to manifest itself in universal political, ecological, and language-cultural competence. Cultural development must not be controlled by people who regard the leveling of characteristic national features as the highest manifestation of internationalism, by people who do not see that the socialist culture of each Soviet nation is the continuation of the entire age-long development of national culture. [passage omitted]

Problems involving language are very complex, but I am convinced that they can be solved, provided that they are tackled from the viewpoint of broad democratic principles.

[Dmytrenko] Quite a few lances have been broken over the following question: Is it worthwhile to allege in earnest that Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism, which is widespread in the republic, could in some way hinder or restrict anyone under any circumstances in the efforts to learn and to use the Ukrainian language on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR? In this respect, the authors of letters to the editor proceed from different positions, and moreover lack a clear vision. For this reason their opinions are contradictory, and their subjective assessments are occasionally insufficiently substantiated....

V. Rusanivskyy: **Bilingualism is useful, and in Soviet society it is simply a must. But it has to be based on the deep knowledge of one's own native language.** It is precisely the mother tongue that opens the surrounding world for a person. This has been perfectly proven both by pre-revolutionary teachers and by Soviet scientists. [passage omitted]

[Dmytrenko] Here is another issue. How can the fact that there are practically no Ukrainain-language schools in many industrial and scientific centers of the republic (Kharkov, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Odessa, and quite a few others) be explained? How did this happen? What is the position of learned philologists on this, and what can to be expected in the future?

I can see that it is easier to ask questions than to give complete enough answers to them. But it is simply impossible to leave these questions "for some time in the future"....

V. Rusanivskyy: First of all, it is essential to refer to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who prophetically and repeatedly warned that the matter of national awakening could be foiled by the bureaucratic apparatus. In the twenties Ukrainian culture, which had been oppressed for centuries, developed impetuously. No one had any doubt about prospects for the development of the Ukrainian language. As of 1921, the Institute for the Scientific Ukrainian Language became part of the system of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It developed scientific terminology and compiled general and terminological dictionaries for translating purposes. At that time all subjects in the curriculums of the general-education and the higher schools were taught in Ukrainian. The cohort of Ukrainian men of letters was growing....

As is known, the successive years were marked by violations of socialist legality. The effects made also themselves felt in culture. Thus the ranks of the intelligentsia among the Ukrainian workers and peasants, brought to life by the October Revolution, became very thin, and the Ukrainian language lost many of its defenders and developers. The nationality problem, which invariably attracted the attention of the delegates to party congresses in the twenties, actually disappeared from the agenda of party forums in the thirties.... It was proceeded by the assumption that the goal we set for ourselves had been reached and that full harmony had been achieved among nationalities. Indeed, we were closer to this goal. Unfortunately, we went by it and began to move away from it. There were repressions, and then indifference to issues concerning native languages on the part of the bureaucratic apparatus; peoples with deeply rooted national consciousness tenaciously clung to their languages and national traditions. But among peoples who before the revolution still had not completed the process of their final national consolidation, concern for their national heritage was gradually waning....

What has to be done at present? First of all, it is essential to consolidate the principles of democratizing our society, as was already noted in the reply to the first question. When people are free to manifest their will, appropriate attention will also be given to the language.

[Dmytrenko] Time will tell.... But in the meantime, many letters are repeating the idea that the conditions to which our native language "has been brought" are scandalous: Both the adults and the children speak some kind of macaronic....

Let us agree that the point is worth pondering and discussing. Our correspondents uses the term "has been brought," but how and by whom? Is not it because many parents do not cultivate in their children respect for the language of their people?

V. Rusanivskyy: Let us try to see.... On one hand, the USSR Constitution guarantees our country's citizens the right to speak and to teach their children their native language. Every citizen may get secondary and higher education in his or her native language. But on the other hand, it is not a secret that in teaching, almost all higher educational establishments in our republic have switched over to the Russian language.

Let us have a look at other spheres of public life. Problems concerning production, public affairs, politics, and culture are being discussed in the republic mostly in Russian. Until some time ago, the republic's radio and television broadcasts in Ukrainian were becoming ever scarcer (at present there are noticeable changes for the better in this respect). The republic's ministers addressed their audiences from television screens in Russian.... True enough, not all ministers of education and of culture speak Ukrainian. But the greater the distance from education and culture, the less the republic's language is in use. And this makes the parents wonder: Is it the Ukrainian or the Russian school that their child should be sent to? **When the level of national consciousness is low and general culture nonexistent, it is colloquial practice that prompts the answer.** [passage omitted]

But the process of massive switching over from Ukrainian to Russian, particularly in our republic, is not in step with an adequate understanding of Russian culture. Rather the contrary: It provides room for mass and dull non-national

culture. And what matters the most, along with national sentiments, is that people lose their human dignity; they are able to abuse their nation, language, and culture....

[Dmytrenko] This natural development is deplorable indeed... But where are its roots? During a "roundtable discussion" arranged by the editorial board in Uzhgorod, L. Stetsiv, a Ukrainian language and literature teacher who participated in the event, pointed out that in recent times Ukrainian literature curriculums have been substantially curtailed, and the practice of using at school the standard language for everything is not being observed. Vitaliy Makarovych, will there be any changes in this respect in the new school year? Has consideration been given to the question of expanding the study of the history of the Ukraine, of our people's original culture, and of their rich cultural heritage at our republic's schools and higher educational institutions?

V. Rusanivskyy: Indeed, the practice of using the standard language at school is being violated frequently: Ukrainian is being spoken during classes, but Russian at school and parent-teacher meetings. We must go back to the previous practice when the school was enhancing real language culture. [passage omitted]

As far as art education is concerned, it is actually nonexistent at our schools. In this regard, some decisions must be adopted which are valid all over the country, or (and this would be more simple and logical) republics should be granted the right to compile their own curriculums for art education. [passage omitted]

Now let me try to answer questions frequently asked by the readers.

Why are Ukrainian books advertized so inadequately? Because among the present book reviewers there is practically no one who knows the history of Ukrainian culture.

Why are there so few interesting features on Ukrainian television programs? Because directors who speak Ukrainian are almost nonexistent.

Why does the technical intelligentsia find it difficult to speak Ukrainian? Because theoretical and practical courses in the higher educational institutions of the Ukraine are being read mostly in Russian. Specialized publications in Ukrainian have for the most part disappeared.

Such questions are countless, and the only answer is: We do not have.... But we should have! In particular,

—while reading the Ukrainian literature at school, we should interpret it as a phenomenon of art, and not as an illustration to history;

—those bearing responsibility for Ukrainian culture should be well-educated in Ukrainian culture themselves;

—those engaged in international education should implant in deed the awareness of equality among languages and cultures.

Therefore, with more democracy and more socialism, there will be more self-respect, and also devotion to everlasting values will be cultivated....

[Dmytrenko] Thank you for your interesting remarks.

War Veterans Committee Elects Chairman

PM2010094988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Veterans' Committee Plenum"]

[Text] In the future, war veterans will be the party's true helpers in the implementation of restructuring tasks, the struggle for peace and disarmament on the planet, work to educate the rising generation in the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Soviet people, and the preparation of young people for service in the army and navy. This was discussed at a Soviet War Veterans' Committee plenum held 13 October in Moscow. The committee's tasks were discussed in the light of the 19th all-union party conference and July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions.

The plenum examined an organizational question. Marshal of Aviation A.P. Silantyev was elected chairman of the Soviet War Veterans' Committee.

Marchuk Preview of Academy Meeting Published

PM2010075588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own special correspondent Ye. Manucharova: "Half the Academy of Sciences' Leadership Is Being Renewed"]

[Text] At a briefing for Soviet journalists held yesterday at the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stated that half the Academy of Sciences' leadership is being renewed. Young scientists, including five new vice-presidents, will be directing the Academy.

Marchuk was speaking on the eve of the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting (18-20 October) about the kind of problems that will be discussed there. They have been determined by the tasks set by the 19th party conference.

Political reform and radical economic reform must have scientific backing. The academy has carried out much work in this area and submitted its proposals regarding

the concept of scientific and technical progress. Scientists have made an important contribution to the formation of the long-term comprehensive national economic development program.

Restructuring inside the academy itself and in its Presidium and research establishments is under way. The aim is to emulate general world scientific standards.

A new system of financing scientific research on a specific topic on a competitive basis will be submitted to the meeting for discussion. A system of grants is being introduced, particularly in the Department of Information Science, Computer Technology, and Automation.

The question of the maximum term of office for a director is up for discussion. The Presidium's proposal is for 10 years in both party and soviet organs.

Many scientists do not agree, thinking that a director will not be able to carry out a large scientific program in such time.

Others support rapid rotation, since it reduces the opportunity for the creation of dominating scientific clans and promotes democracy.

The meeting must also resolve a fundamental question of historical justice—the rehabilitation and restoration of N.I. Bukharin as a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. As we have already reported, the Presidium has supported this.

Relations between the press and scientific establishments and the academy leadership was the subject of lively discussion at the briefing. Both sides expressed the hope that closer cooperation than in preceding years, when the Academy in no way strove for glasnost, will be established.

Academician's Address Cited

LD1810224188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—Special TASS correspondents report:

"Political and legal reforms in the Soviet Union will be successful only in the event that they rest on science," stated Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of State and Law, today. He spoke here at the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivering a report on scientifically ensuring the reform of the political system.

The aim of political and legal reform in the social sphere is the creation of a socialist lawful state, noted the academician. This supposes the radical strengthening of legality in the country, the equality of all citizens before the law, an effective struggle against bureaucracy, and—the main thing—the exclusion of possibilities to usurp and misuse power. For this it is essential to renew Soviet legislation, and in particular to change obsolete clauses in laws on public organizations and on the freedom of conscience, and also in a number of criminal documents, first and foremost on criminal responsibility for state crimes. It is also essential in the near future to promulgate and to approve a law on the press and on glasnost, which would guarantee the right of citizens to obtain information.

Vladimir Kudryavtsev proposed putting into practice a system of scientific and public expert examinations for all decisions being adopted by state bodies. Moreover, a coordinating function could be taken on by the center for politological research which was recently created in the USSR Academy of Sciences and which engages, in particular, in the study of problems of the structure of power and the mechanism of adopting political decisions.

The academician also noted the abnormality [nenormalnost] of the situation when 84.2 percent of social scientists do not have data on social statistics, and in particular on criminal statistics. They are essential, said Vladimir Kudryavtsev, for the scientific forecasting of political and social development in the USSR, without which one cannot count on the effectiveness of reform.

Solovyev Helps Inspect Leningrad Supply System

LD1510230188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] A report from Leningrad: A unique inspection force of deputies has spent the last 2 weeks working at enterprises of the city's agro-industrial committee. Over 300 people, half the membership of the city soviet, set aside their duties for a while and set off to fruit and vegetable depots, dairy and bakery works, confectionery factories, and supermarkets to study on the spot the possibilities of improving supplies of food goods to the city's population.

Today, at a session of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, they reported on their observations and conclusions. The deputies sharply criticized the work of the Leningrad City Agro-Industrial Committee and the relevant directorates of the gorispolkom, on which the state of the food market depends. It was noted, in particular, that supplies of potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce for the people of Leningrad are significantly below the norm.

A program of measures to improve provision of foodstuffs to the people of Leningrad in the period of the 12th 5-Year Plan was decided upon.

Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, took part in the session's work.

Many Leningraders Unclear on Restructuring Role

LD1610001388 Moscow TASS in English 0527 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Leningrad October 15—By TASS correspondent Mark Monusov:

A public opinion poll taken recently has shown that two-thirds of the residents of Leningrad, the USSR's second largest city with a population of five million, support perestroyka, but have not yet determined their place in it, their personal role in the work for perestroyka's success.

"Herein I see our shortcoming and, if you will, our party organisation's guilt," said Anatoliy Gerasimov, first secretary of the Leningrad City Committee of the CPSU, in comment on the findings of the sociological survey.

"The fact that a majority of people have not yet joined in the restructuring process actively despite the fact that they share its common goals and tasks signifies that we the party functionaries have not succeeded so far in leading them and in bringing home to many of them the realisation of specific tasks which both work collectives and individual persons can and must tackle within the framework of our strategic directions of perestroyka."

In order to secure that everyone who supports perestroyka becomes an active participant in the process, Gerasimov maintains, the party committees should not only know well what is uppermost in people's minds but also be able to react to their needs in time, accurately and properly.

All party workers are convinced now that such an attitude is correct, the leader of the Leningrad organization of the CPSU went on to say. But it is one thing to understand that and the other thing to act in line with this understanding. It turned out to be not so easy for many of my colleagues to work in a new way and to use political rather than administrative methods of work, he stated. One can understand that over the decades which are now referred to as stagnation years many party workers have developed a negative attitude to purely political work and even began to describe it as just 'empty rhetoric'. It is more simple to give the right command". [No opening quotation mark as received] In this way the lively contacts with people were replaced by formal initiatives which were born not among the masses but in top-level offices. Unfortunately, at present, at the height of perestroyka, party committees quite often still plan out their work without taking into account the real interests and opinions of people.

"The main thing that we seek to do now is to reconsider orientations and criteria for the evaluation of party work," Anatoliy Gerasimov went on to say. "Previously we estimated the efficiency of our efforts by the end economic results of a region or city. Probably, such an evaluation still remains a fair one now as well. But the scope of economic bodies' responsibility for this result should be defined clearly. It must become an indisputable rule that economic matters shall be tackled by economic managers while the party leaders shall conduct political and educational work and be responsible for the solution of the entire range of socio-political problems."

"I shall tell straight," Gerasimov said, "that not all party workers are willing to part with such a tangible form of power as control over economic activities. We still feel this in the Leningrad City Committee of the party, too. But nevertheless the members of the city committee and district committees, of which there are 18 in the city, began more actively to rely on the public opinion, taking it into account more fully and to be more concerned with people's needs rather than engage in economic management".

"Matters which are brought up for discussion at plenary meetings of the party committees come into being on the strength of proposals made by rank-and-file Communists. For example, on the strength of their letters, about twenty sessions of the bureau of the city committee of the CPSU have been held this year. The recently inaugurated city centre for the study of the public opinion also gives us a very large amount of material for the analysis of the judgements and opinions of people. It was with its aid, incidentally, that the data with which this interview began were obtained".

"For their part, both the city committee of the CPSU and the district committees of the party seek to inform the Leningraders of their work, plans and intentions more fully, things began moving, so to say, and a turn in the party work to political methods is evident. But, firstly, only the first steps have been made along the way and, secondly, there are no ready-made recipes and stereotypes in this respect. This is why one should look for solutions on one's own. The party committees of our city, I think, are now engaged precisely in such a quest".

Legal Reforms Required for Restructuring

PM1810131188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 2

[Prof G. Maltsev "Political Conversation": "Democracy and Legal Reform"]

[Text] Restructuring has reached the stage where it is necessary to come to grips with problems of further developing the **Soviet legal system**. The democratization of society, which was discussed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, must go hand in hand with a fundamental reform of the political system and ensure a radical political renewal—a renewal of the legal sphere. As is known, it is envisaged that the reform will be carried out rapidly.

A great deal has been written lately about the legal situation in our country, and clear concern is being voiced. There are more than enough grounds for concern. We are living in conditions of **norm inflation**, if one can put it that way. There is a vast number of practically valueless legal norms; the authority of laws has declined; the distinction between them and ordinances [podzakonnyye akty] has become dangerously blurred; and this means that in practice, say, ministries' instructions often **obscure and supplant the law**. Normative material in economic activity (and in other fields as well) has assumed massive dimensions and people simply do not become aware of many norms they are supposed to be implementing.

If you go by the number of existing legal norms according to this criterion and, unfortunately, this criterion alone, our state has long been "law-based," perhaps even "ultralaw-based." Basically, the juridical sphere is intolerably littered and cluttered and many norms are semifunctioning, nonfunctioning, or exist "just in case," as it were. Moreover, in the past the administrative edict system of government allowed itself the luxury of extensive areas of secret or semisecret "law" intended for official use, for a narrow circle of individuals. Naturally, this increased the confusion and led to unpleasant surprises for those who were not privy to all the "mysteries" of our legal system.

The economy, which fell short of contemporary demands as a result of extensive methods, overcentralized management, and administrative-edict methods of leadership, was the decisive factor which determined the shape of our law over many decades. In theoretical and practical terms everything legal amounted to (and still does amount to, out of habit) prescriptions and orders from on high, and for a long time legal scholars were reluctant to see the law as anything more than a mere instrument of state power, an instrument for asserting the political might of the state apparatus, and a means of state coercion.

A process of overcoming everything that connected people with the old extensive, expenditure-based, and wasteful economy is now taking place in the people's consciousness and mentality. But not everyone is yet aware that a more determined effort must also be made to get rid of this economy's twin—the old and in many respects decrepit law which constantly inhibits restructuring and puts a "legal straitjacket," so to speak, on anyone who wants to get ahead and who displays exceptional, unusual initiative. Everyone has heard of examples of this, and there have been many in our press.

Now that much is being said about the formation of a **socialist rule-of-law state** it should be made clear that in many respects it should be a matter of creating a new set of laws. This is the main purpose of legal reform. What form will it take and what tasks will it tackle? In this connection the 19th party conference resolution on legal reform says that it is intended to ensure the primacy of the law in all spheres of social life and strengthen the mechanisms for maintaining socialist law and order on the basis of the development of democracy. It is exceedingly important for the future of our country that the reform be aimed not only, or perhaps not so much, at increasing the role of the law and the authority of the servants of the law, as at establishing a **new quality of legal culture** for Soviet society.

What is needed now is research, in-depth theoretical studies of how to combine the law with people's and collectives' independence and initiative, of where the behavioral standard enshrined in the law ends and people's free social creativity begins. From the outset, the legal reform must be given a direction that fully meets the demands of the new political thinking.

General **presumption of human interests** accords with the spirit of the new thinking. With regard to the juridical sphere this means that all contradictions and conflicts are eliminated and all decisions are made from the viewpoint of what is best for people and for a democratic society. Many of the current statutes, above all bans, seem to be deliberately designed to make life difficult for people, to put obstacles in their way, and to legalize the power of the bureaucracy and the producer's diktat over the consumer.

The first important step on the path to legal reform will be a cleaning out in the juridical sphere: the abolition of a multitude of legal norms which we can do without. Overall we have to sharply reduce the volume of laws, trim the "fat," and act in accordance with the widely known rule "better fewer, but better," adopting a differentiated approach to the task. Obviously, in some cases one should intensify legal control and regulate social processes more precisely, while in other cases one should stop juridical interference in social relations, overcoming the ingrained fear of leaving someone without any "legal basis" in order to finally teach certain people to think for themselves and make decisions of their own: Anything that is not prohibited by the law is permitted. In order to normalize the size and structure of the legal system it is necessary, obviously, to substantially curtail departmental norm-creation and reduce it to the essential minimum, but at the same time expand somewhat the norm-creation by local soviets, whose sovereignty undoubtedly presupposes that they are self-regulating in their activity.

The law operates only when it lives in people and operates through people. Legal acts are a very great invention of civilization, but, for all their virtues, they themselves will never improve society and make people happier unless people consciously will it. While praising the law one should not forget that there are things that cannot be subjected to any legal norms, and that they are not an absolute guarantee against tyranny. So the human factor remains supreme in the sphere of law. Therefore, before obeying laws and carrying them out to the letter, citizens must be convinced that the laws are governed by

public interests, are associated with the conditions of human, social existence, and that they correctly express social goals and reliably promote their attainment. This gives rise to a whole series of demands as far as legal reform is concerned.

One of them is: **Do not get carried away and create more and more new laws.** There should be neither too many nor too few, but exactly as many as are needed to successfully solve social problems. But how many are needed? This has to be established on a strictly scientific basis, approaching the matter thoughtfully and cautiously. Today, unfortunately, there is a tendency to expand legislation programs without due thought, and there are many enthusiasts around who believe that anyone who wields a pen can write a law as soon as he is told to. Is it surprising that some laws contain many elements of brilliant journalistic writing, but are far from perfect as juridical acts? That the mechanism for implementing them is poorly thought out, and because of that they work unsatisfactorily, or hardly work at all (such as, many people believe, the Law on Labor Collectives)? Bills distinguished by exceedingly broad areas of regulation—for example, on youth, on the press, and so on—are in the offing. It is important that they not try to encompass too much, ending up as mere declarations.

The procedure for amending and repcaling laws needs to be clearly defined. The more dynamic society is—and Soviet society is dynamic—the more necessary it is to ensure that laws accord with the demands of public and state life and that they are altered, rectified, or repealed promptly. This should be initiated not only by state legislative organs, but also by courts and public organizations. The amendment and repeal of laws, like all law-making, must be a process in which **every citizen** can participate.

In order to simultaneously solve tasks of forming a socialist rule-of-law state and developing a socialist self-managing society, it is necessary in the long term to switch to new methods of juridical regulation and fundamentally change the qualitative nature of the laws. From legal interference in the social process—in the form of direct, occasionally tough regulation and instructions as to what has to be done in a particular situation—it is possible to switch to predominantly different forms of regulation, through the establishment of goals, targets, incentives, recommendations, and general permission and prohibition. In short, the center of gravity of legal regulation shifts from **direct regulation of social relations, which will remain only in essential cases, to harmonizing and coordinating spontaneously developing processes and rationalizing them.**

The reform must lead to a substantial **strengthening of the moral foundations of the law** and be combined with the moral renewal of our society. The **economic manager's word**, as long as it is firm and reliable, could be a better guarantee of contract relations between enterprises than dozens of juridical guarantees and laws and hundreds of instructions. It is naive to think that laws and juridical norms can make up for a lack of morality and an absence of trust in relations between people. If our society becomes entirely a **society of reason, conscience, truth, and social justice, everything will be fine with the law and with laws.**

Public Airing of Residency Rules Urged

PM1410141188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Yuriy Feofanov article under the rubric "The Law and Our Life": "Registration and Other Matters"]

[Text] There are times when you don't know how to answer a straight question. Increasingly frequently in the press and in conversations, one hears doubt cast on the constitutionality and fairness of the "institution of registration," as lawyers put it. Is this necessary or not? Does it have a purpose or not? Ultimately, is it legal?

I spoke with lawyers. Their answers were all very different. And I did not decide to write about this until I got a letter from A. Sukhanov, chief engineer with the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work Principal Information and Computer Center. The writer was guarded: His letter was full of phrases such as "according to unchecked information" and "I have an uncertified copy." But what he writes about is very serious. According to him, there is a kind of "legal norm" which permits citizens to be evicted from Moscow for up to 2 years under administrative procedures, without trial or investigation.

I would like to have believed that these cases all fell into the category of "unchecked information." Unfortunately, they were confirmed. But how? This was the start of the hardest part. Or the most "absurd" part in terms of the ideas of a rule-of-law state.

Nowhere could I find official confirmation of the above "norm" in the sense of reading a text. I inquired at our capital's prosecutor's office. People there confirmed that such a norm does exist and is used. Not very widely, but it is used, when necessary, by rayispolkoms. I was told that the people evicted are mainly "dropouts." But they are people! Citizens enjoying constitutional rights—or thinking they do. It is also quite probable that these bad citizens constitute by no means the best members of society. And they are evicted. And since rayispolkoms are not duty bound to worry about their place of residence, they become persons of no fixed abode.

Let us turn for a minute to our common sense and sense of justice. So what if relatives or friends visit a Muscovite and stay 3-4 days, a week, or a month? What's the harm? Why should they have to traipse around after a temporary registration permit? What would happen if we dispensed with registrations? Would the "dropouts" abuse the system? But are they not outside the law?

Needless to say, it is necessary to account for temporary residents. I cannot suggest a ready-made model. But this should be considered openly and together, and included in housing rent agreements.

What about people who have served jail sentences.... So many people have written to say that it is wrong and inhumane to stop people going back to their families. They should be allowed to do so without any red tape or bother. By no means can everyone return to their families at present, even though they have served their sentences.

But even this is not the point. For all our propounding of the value of individuals as the highest priority, I would like to talk about bureaucratic matters. We have the Statute on the Passport System in the USSR, ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers 28 August 1974. But this states that "citizens permitting unregistered persons who lack passports and registration permits to live at their place of residence shall be subject to an administrative fine of up to R10." Second offenders can be fined up to R50.

This norm, I repeat, can be found in a collection of government resolutions. But we are talking about another norm that is an exception to the law. And only for Muscovites, who until recently were confident that they were living in a model communist city. This secret exception to the law states: "Citizens systematically committing the aforesaid violations shall, if subject to an administrative penalty twice in 1 year, be evicted under administrative procedures from Moscow for up to 2 years at the rayispolkom's discretion." It transpires that two "laws" exist side by side: an open one and a secret one! One for the capital and one for everybody else.

Despite my deepest respect for my beloved Soviet Government, a respect instilled in me, I would say, from my earliest days, I still claim that it is wrong if even an organ such as the USSR Council of Ministers—a prestigious and capable organ, but nonetheless not a legislative body—can introduce an essentially criminal norm: eviction. And without trial, at ispolkoms' discretion. Another point that is striking is the fact that in June 1985 the Council of Ministers returned to the document regulating temporary residence in the capital. I discovered that some things had been clarified and others changed. But the illegal norm was left in place. Yet eviction for 2 years is essentially a criminal measure. And the obstruction of ex-convicts' return home is also a serious punishment, tantamount to eviction.

Unfortunately, nobody in our state monitors the legality of government acts. The monitoring carried out by prosecutors does not extend to assessing the legality of Council of Ministers acts. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has the right to repeal any executive order. But for some reason neither I nor the lawyers I talked with had heard about this. It turns out that nobody checks that the content of government documents is in line with the Constitution and its articles and principles.

Studying the above documents brought me up against the problem of registration in general—the so-called passport system. Many readers ask about the lawfulness of the institution of registration. I do not know whether we can abandon registration, given the current housing shortage and the free provision of apartments. I do not think so. But I am convinced that the norms of our "passport system" should be evaluated from a legal standpoint.

And from one other angle too. It is necessary simply to widely publish everything relating to registration, the passport system, and sanctions for violations of it. I am not confident that the "norm" under discussion would pass the test of glasnost. Is it possible in a civilized state to impose against citizens sanctions that are adopted and maintained in secret? We have known since Roman times that a law that is not made public is not a law.

Suslov Moscow University Plaque Sparks Dispute

PM1810081188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev article under rubric "Controversy Surrounding the Memorial Plaque to M.A. Suslov on the Moscow University Building": "Memorial Given Special Container"]

[Text] ... On 19 November 1982 memorial plaques dedicated to "eminent figure of the Communist Party, the Soviet state, and the international communist movement and twice Hero of Socialist Labor Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov" were ceremoniously unveiled at three addresses in Moscow simultaneously. One of the plaques adorned the main building of the Moscow G.V. Plekhanov National Economy Institute where M.A. Suslov studied in 1924-1928. Another appeared on the house at 19 Bolshaya Bronnaya Street: He lived here between 1969 and 1982. The third was affixed to the building of the present-day department of journalism at the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University, at 20 Marx Prospekt, where Mikhail Andreyevich lectured in 1929-1930.

... On 21 August 1988 the memorial plaque to M.A. Suslov on the Moscow State University building was daubed with ink. Who did this and why? No one has been able to answer this question so far. It was impossible to leave the memorial plaque in this state. So the department leadership asked the Moscow State University party committee to remove it. They decided against this step, explaining that the plaque had been mounted on the basis of a party and government decision.

The plaque was temporarily covered with a sheet of plywood. On the very first night, however, someone tore off this covering. So they covered it with sacking. This too was ripped off. Finally, a strong tin container was

made on special order and fixed over the plaque, with the words "undergoing repair" written on it. The memorial plaque is still in this packaging today. Meanwhile, the dispute surrounding it continues....

"We think that it was a mistake to put the memorial plaque on the university building," Ya. Zasurskiy, dean of the department of journalism, said. "Suslov only lectured here for a few months. So any talk of his scientific contribution to the development of Moscow State University is at best unfounded. But the history of this building is associated with the names of outstanding figures in science, culture, and literature. They include Klyuchevskiy, Lunacharskiy, Timiryazev, Solovyev, Ushinskiy, Krupskaya, Mayakovskiy, and Furmanov. Zhukovskiy demonstrated his wind tunnel here...."

"The question of the plaque to M.A. Suslov was raised long before this sorry incident occurred," G. Peskov, secretary of the department of journalism party committee, continued.

"In May this year the proposal was made at the department party meeting to remove the plaque and replace it with another, dedicated to the Komsomol assembly held in the Communist Auditorium on 22 June 1941 (it resolved to consider all Komsomol members at Moscow State University mobilized for the purpose of fulfilling any task set by the motherland). This question was raised again on 1 October at a meeting of the university party aktiv. As far as the damage to the plaque is concerned, our opinion on the matter is this: If you do not agree with something, you should say so frankly and openly. But to commit an act of vandalism is disgraceful, even if you are pursuing noble aims."

How has the Moscow State University leadership reacted to the events?

"The party committee and rectorate of the university have sent a letter to the CPSU Central Committee requesting that it consider the expediency of retaining the memorial plaque to M.A. Suslov," said S. Tumanov, deputy secretary of the Moscow State University party committee. "We feel that the decision about the plaque was made without considering Comrade Suslov's real contribution to the university's development. As a postgraduate student, he underwent his training practice in the political economy department of the Moscow State University History Faculty. He was here as an assistant lecturer between 1 October 1929 and 1 October 1930. We have no information on how long he was engaged in lecturing activity at Moscow State University."

Recently, a scientific laboratory of public opinion set up in the philosophy department completed its report on an unusual piece of research. Specialists had conducted an opinion poll among students and lecturers on the problem concerning the memorial plaque to M.A. Suslov. It transpired that many of the students questioned in the economics and history departments have absolutely no idea who Suslov was. No one could say with any certainty what connection there was between him and Moscow State University. And, for some of them, this was the first they had heard of the "disputed memorial plaque." A total of 86 percent of the students and lecturers questioned were in favor of the plaque being removed.

And so, the attitude of the public is clear. Now is the time for a decision which takes this attitude into consideration.

Stalin Defender's Slander Case Ruled 'Nonsuit'

PM1310111088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 2 Oct 88 p 12

[Text] The above is from a statement by Ivan Shekhovtsov of Kharkov who brought action against writer Ales Adamovich and the newspaper "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA" in the people's court of Moscow's Sverdlovskiy District.

Izvestia (No. 267) commented on the unprecedented court trial held September 20, 1988. Let me recall the circumstances of the case.

Plaintiff: Ivan Timofeyevich Shekhovtsov, b.1926, a war veteran, a lawyer by education, former investigator and procurator, now retired. The author of 17 claims in defence of Stalin and numerous letters to the press and procurator's offices, to judicial and party instances to expose "denigrators"

From the claim: "A polarization of social views began after the April plenary meeting. Some people started to slander our history without grounds, to discredit the 1920s-1930s in terms which the BBC and Voice of America have long since abandoned. As an historian and a lawyer, I could not but analyze these statements, especially those denigrating a person who, as fate willed it, symbolized the nation for 30 years and headed the party and the state... A person who cannot utter a single word in his own defence, cannot be declared a criminal if he has never been convicted of a crime."

In his article entitled "On the Eve" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, August 19, 1988) Adamovich, quoting from one of Shekhovtsov's letters without naming the author, speaks about the "triumphant defenders of butchers who gloat over our liberalism". Said plaintiff Shekhovtsov, "in this article, I recognized myself". On recognizing himself, Shekhovtsov demanded that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA apologize and suggested that it publish his own composition "How Adamovich Criticizes Stalin's Resuscitators". Denying Stalin's complicity in the mass repressions, denying the very fact of repressions, and referring to the presumption of innocence principle in so doing, Shekhovtsov formulated the claim in defence of his honour and dignity by analogy with the previous 16 suits in defence of Stalin's honour and dignity.

From the claim: "I object to my being called a defender of investigators-butchers, because only a person who has been found guilty of using unlawful methods—torture—during the investigation can be called that... Otherwise this amounts to fanning the flames of an anti-Stalin hysteria and other unhealthy phenomena in our society."

...The hall, packed to capacity, was silent while film and TV cameras could be heard buzzing. The audience had been asked by the judge to refrain from making comments. Only when the apology for Stalinism become particularly rabid were there exclamations from shattered and deafened people.

Shekhovtsov had thoroughly prepared for the trial. He handled his bulky dossier pedantically and ably. He was clearly an expert in legal procedure. The court rejected many of his questions to the defendants and witnesses as irrelevant. Of course, former investigator Shekhovtsov was perfectly aware of what he was asking and why.

"Have you read the Gulag Archipelago?" he asked Adamovich.

"Did you know," he asked witness V. Polikarpov, "that after the publication of your article on Raskolnikov a BBC correspondent canvassed Muscovites for their opinion about this article?"

During an interval I asked Shekhovtsov:

"What cases did you conduct as an investigator?"

"All kinds of cases. Economic and criminal. I did everything in the prescribed manner. I used the third degree: psychological penetration into the soul of the person under investigation."

"What were the results?"

"I always did good work. I didn't have a single acquittal."

Plaintiff and the audience: talks in the corridor. People who had come to "root for Adamovich" found his accuser so odious that they felt almost no anger toward the "defender of butchers", only amazement at the "purity of the type". Putting questions to the plaintiff during the interval, the audience carried out its own investigation.

Plaintiff: "When I was three years old my whole family was exiled to Solovki. By mistake. But Stalin discovered this. Eight months later we were all returned home."

"Read Vyshinskiy's books. This is real jurisprudence."

"We have no right to speak about Stalinism as the mass media does. We have the right to speak about a period in our state's history when it was headed by Stalin."

"I don't believe a single publication, a single word of those who write bad things about Stalin. I appraise the events of those years in terms of the moral criteria of those years."

I am probably not the only one who wanted to find out what impelled Shekhovtsov to battle newspapers and writers. Was it blind fanaticism, departmental patriotism or the Herostratic desire to become the hero of the day at all costs, to make his name resound across the country. Shekhovtsov, an older person of fine appearance, in a neat blue suit with a band of ribbons on his chest, gladly posed before the cameras and granted interviews. He also answered my questions:

"Is it worth your while to spend the rest of your life on lawsuits with writers? If you insist on **documentary proof of Stalin's guilt and that of his entourage, why not help those working in the Memorial Society?"**

"But I am helping them. By explaining that they are looking for the wrong thing."

Passionate speeches and rejoinders, filled with noble wrath, were received by the plaintiff with obvious arrogance.

Co-defendants—"SOVETSKAYA KULTURA": "Defender of a butcher—this description of the plaintiff is not an insult to his honour and dignity, but a statement of the fact."

Alex Adamovich: "I read Shekhovtsov's letter and was struck by one place in it: Vavilov slandered himself because it has not been proved that investigator Khvat beat him. There are no documents, no proofs that he was beaten there, there was no protest from the procurator's office and so on. Why are we speaking this infantile language? You know perfectly well that no procurator's office ever protested against beating, when it was ordered from above: beat—at first in individual cases, then a directive was issued—disregard defendants' complaints about the use of violence on them. You know this perfectly well. Vyshinskiy could explain this better than anyone but we won't wait till lawyers of the Stalin school allow us to look at these things as our moral feelings prompt us."

The defendant agreed to only one point of the lawsuit. Yes, Khvat and his ilk must be spoken about using the language of the law. An expert examination should be conducted—an excellent idea. Legal investigations of the butchers and the organizers of terror should be made. "I believe that when we do this, and I am sure we will, en route to our law-governed state, then Stalin's victims not his procurators will be filing the suits," said Adamovich.

Shekhovtsov patently disliked this turn of events. To him the author of the denunciation of V. Polikarpov demanding that Moscow's procurator institute criminal proceedings against the historian "for circulating in

printed form deliberately false concoctions discrediting the Soviet state and social system" (let's recall Stalin's former Article 58), all of these "general human values" are not merely dubious, but unlawful.

"Let them name one person unlawfully condemned, because of whom Stalin could be indicted," he demanded.

The plaintiff rejected as unlawful even the facts adduced by witnesses: the 383 lists which Stalin signed in 1937-1938 (testimony of V. Polikarpov); those put to death from January 1936 to June 1941 (testimony of S. Shebaldayev); those shot and killed near Minsk (concluding remarks by Adamovich).

"Emotions. Baby talk. Not a single document to prove the case. Not a single official corroboration, not a single serious argument," Shekhovtsov stubbornly repeated.

A plaintiff denotes a person who wants to get down to the truth. Despite all the legal contrivances, Ivan Shekhovtsov did not become an embodiment of the truth at that court trial. "I would ask the court to be more tolerant toward the plaintiff. He is an intellectual and a moral victim of Stalinism"—this is how the Shekhovtsov phenomenon was assessed by witness Yuriy Karyakin, who suggested the plaintiff: "Bring action against the 20th, 22nd and 27th congresses which qualified Stalin's actions as criminal and unforgivable."

In a sense Shekhovtsov is a victim. At times I felt sorry for this man who was so clumsily and ingloriously settling accounts with the spiral of history he had failed to anticipate. Other times pity gave way to a clear picture: If all of us, in this hall, had fallen into his hands at that time...

Ruling. Having examined this civil suit in an open court..., guided by Article 203 of the Code of Civil Procedure, the court ruled it a nonsuit.

Though few doubted this outcome, I least of all felt like celebrating this victory. "I am a representative of that generation which lives on the memories of our heroic history, which inhales the air of the 1930s," Shekhovtsov said with disarming frankness in his concluding remarks. We need to realize that he is not alone in his view, that the truth about the "heroic 1930s," achieved through much suffering by the country, is far from self-evident to the mass consciousness, that there are many people who haven't begun the painful work of re-evaluating the values with themselves. It has to be admitted that we are unprepared to talk to a former investigator of the Stalin school "on his turf," unprepared to debate a smart, cunning and refined opponent in the language of legal procedure. Presenting these problems—which have been examined in the press and in an emotional key—in court is an important precedent.

"You opinion about the trial?" Interview on the staircase.

"It is very important that Shekhovtsov received a rostrum—even if such an unusual one. His position is a moral sickness, but this desease must not be driven inside."

"The trial has produced the opposite effect of what the plaintiff had counted on. Not in the sense of the verdict, but in the sense of deepening glasnost and democracy."

Regardless of the different initial positions, both sides arrived at one conclusion: For the sake of society's spiritual health, for the sake of its consolidation, for the sake of the future, the country and the people, laying claims to Stalin and his regime should have at its disposal a full set of legally valid proofs. And this is not so much an enforced measure of self-defence as a categorical imperative of the times.

But so far... so far Ivan Shekhovtsov plans to lobby for laws under which any person and any organ of the press could be tried for slandering Stalin and his underlings whose guilt has not been legally proven.

"What's your feeling about the court's ruling?" I asked Shekhovtsov.

"Good. I'm satisfied. Now I can appeal this ruling in the city court. I am looking forward to a big discussion."

"And what about Adamovich? Is he at large?"

"For the time being—yes. But let him try and write anything else against Stalin."

A question to the defendant. Adamovich: "I can promise the plaintiff won't have long to wait."

Shekhovtsov could have brought action against all those in the hall.

Irkutsk Library Displays Bukharin Works

LD1610100588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] The first exhibition of books returned from the special stacks has opened in Irkutsk, in the Science Library of the State University. Visitors can view works on party history written by Yaroslavskiy, Bauman, Zinovyev, Kruptskaya, and Kamenev. A special section is made up of Bukharin's books and other publications that were under lock and key for many years.

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 15 Reported

PM1710082588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Journals' Latest Editions"]

[Text] The latest issue of KOMMUNIST, No 15, opens with an information report on the CPSU Central Committee plenum held 30 September 1988. It publishes the

plenum's resolution "On the Formation of the CPSU Central Committee Commissions and the Reorganization of the CPSU Central Committee Apparatus In the Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference."

The journal's editorial is entitled "Revolution, Restructuring, and Humanism."

An essay by N. Tyurin entitled "At The Boundary," analyzing the complex problems of cadre renewal, is found under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience." The journal is continuing to publish materials that develop the ideas voiced by 19th all-union party conference delegates. V. Koroteyeva, L. Perepelkin, and O. Shkaratan propose ways to transfer from bureaucratic centralism to the economic integration of the sovereign republics and regional economic accountability [khozraschet]. A. Yablokov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, writes about the effect of the use of pesticides on ecology and agriculture.

What was the generation of Komsomol members of the thirties like? In the current disputes and meditations on socialism we turn to people of that time and try to understand them in order to have a better understanding of ourselves. The article "The Generation of the First 5-Year Plan," marking the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol, is dedicated to one page of Komsomol history.

Doctor V. Karpenko raises the problems of providing social security for rural working people and improving their health care in the article "The 'Unplowed Field' of Rural Medicine."

Director of the Leningrad Children's Home F. Makhov writes about incorporating extramural educational establishments in a single system of education and instruction.

The rubric "Debates and Discussions" is introduced with an article by Ye. Zeymal, "Ethnic Groups and Their Languages Under Socialism.'

The "Public Opinion" section includes readers' letters stating problems, reactions to KOMMUNIST articles, and comments by the journal's subscribers.

Under the rubric "In the Countries of Socialism: Achievements and Problems" there is an article by D. Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, entitled "Resolute Course of Economic and Social Reforms and LCY Renewal." Materials are published from the "roundtable" held in Prague by the NOVA MYSL and KOMMUNIST journals on the problems of shaping new economic thinking.

Yu. Borko's article analyzes the mechanisms for the self-development of modern capitalism. This article is printed under the rubric "The Modern World: Trends And Contradictions."

Literary reviews are published—by V. Startsev on the problems of the history of Great October, and by E. Markaryan on comprehensive noospheric and ecological studies.

A review of articles by KOMMUNIST authors within the framework of journals' days held at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements and a discussion of the editorial office's plans for 1989 can be found under the general heading "The Time. The Reader. The Journal."

Economist Writes on Socialism, Individual Labor

PM1310131588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof G. Shmelev: "'Earned' or 'Unearned.' This Is the Only Way the Question May Be Put Under Socialism"]

[Text] All the spheres of our society's socioeconomic restructuring are equally important and are interconnected. But there is one sphere among them which we essentially have to master anew. I mean the development of the cooperative movement, individual labor activity, and the collective, family, and other forms of contract, the need for which was reemphasized at the 19th all-union party conference.

Speaking of individual labor activity in our country, it has to be admitted that for long years it was subjected to unsubstantiated restrictions. Moreover, it was considered even an object of certain pride that for decades the figure zero was featured in the column "nonsocialized home workers and noncooperative peasants" in statistical collections examining the social structure of employment in the national economy.

However, the truth is that the existence of producers who make consumer goods or render various services to the population has never run counter to socialism or its socioeconomic nature.

From the ideological viewpoint individual labor activity in no way runs counter to the principles of socialism if it is carried out, on the whole, on the basis of personal labor and does not violate the principle of obtaining an income according to one's labor.

V.I. Lenin considered it an important task of the new economic policy "to build communism with noncommunist hands." Addressing the 11th party congress in 1922, he pointed out: "We must ensure that those numerous elements with whom we cooperate and who outnumber us many times over work in such a way...that their hands do something useful for communism. This is

the crux of the present situation...." The idea of the impermissibility of coercion with regard to the peasantry, and of the need to allow it to resolve for itself the question of whether or not to join a cooperative and precisely which one, is a leitmotiv of Lenin's articles and speeches. Unfortunately, by the end of the twenties the view of the essence of individual farming and simple cooperation among small producers had changed, and Lenin's precepts were violated during the period of collectivization.

We must not now bemoan the fact that in individual cases kolkhozes and sovkhozes, above all in regions with unfavorable conditions, will be transformed into forms of so-called simple cooperation, or that family farms will arise on unutilized land. Corresponding opportunities for individual labor activity in the sphere of agriculture are opened up, in particular, by the party and government resolution adopted in Estonia in March. This is happening abroad too. One of the amendments to the law on agricultural cooperatives in Hungary permits the wide dissemination of the simplest form of cooperation whereby production is based on individual labor activity, while the cooperative merely ensures supplies and sales.

The chief thing is that these forms of production should serve well the task of increasing production, enhancing its efficiency, and improving the well-being of rural workers.

The principle of wage leveling reigned in our economy for a long time, although people talked of distribution according to labor. It directly harmed people who worked well and quickly and skilled craftsmen who, under the form of distribution according to the end product, would have had the right to higher earnings. Now that we pose the question in just this way, there will undoubtedly be a differentiation of personal incomes and, consequently, of material well-being. And the higher the results of labor, the more considerable the differentiation. And of course, this phenomenon will primarily affect those who engage in individual labor. Enterprise multiplied by skill is also a gift that is peculiar to far from everyone. And if you proceed from the unshakable nature of the principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the product produced, then differentiation in people's material status will increase. In connection with the fact that the state has begun encouraging individual and small-group cooperative activity and industrious cooperative members and individuals, there are now more and more of them. Some 84,000 people were engaged in individual labor activity in 1985, while in April 1988 there were approximately 370,000. Of course, this is still not very many on the scale of the whole country, but the growth trend is in evidence and inspires hope. People have already begun to acquire very high incomes.

Of course, income from individual labor activity has to be regulated to a greater degree so as not to allow excessively high incomes for "individual workers" compared with the earnings of workers and employees. This can be achieved through progressive taxation, which must not, of course, undermine the incentive to engage in individual labor activity. The expansion of goods and services offered and competition to attract a buyer both between the state sector and individuals and within the sphere of the individually working craftsmen themselves will also be an important factor preventing groundlessly high incomes. This economic path, which destroys the monopoly in the sphere of offering goods and services, and the flexibility of their prices will both ensure and be a barrier to the desire to hike prices and, accordingly, incomes.

At the same time we have not yet destroyed within ourselves the stereotype of suspiciousness and disrespect toward honestly earned—albeit big—money. Someone who spends his time at work spitting at the ceiling or shuffling papers to see through his detested workday for his R200 is motivated, let us assume, by elementary hatred for his neighbor, whose affairs have really taken off since he began working independently or in a cooperative. Is this what prompts officials involved in organizing individual labor activity to do all they can to put spokes in its wheel, to see every cooperative member as a swindler, and to "eradicate" him with bureaucratic ruses and pressure? It is said that descendants of the unforgettable Ostap Bender [acquisitive confidence trickster in novel by Soviet authors Ilf and Petrov, "The Twelve Chairs"] are trying to get a look in, thirsting to make their million in a short time and preferably without particular effort.

But we must not, because of these adventurers, look suspiciously on honest, industrious, enterprising people. It was no coincidence that this question was raised most sharply in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum: "...People in economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] collectives have only to secure an increase in their wages through growth in the end results of their labor, and protests at once arise and vexed voices are heard to say: They get too much. But under socialism the question may be put only like this: Not 'much' or 'little,' but 'earned' or 'unearned.' It is another matter that the assessment of the quantity and quality of labor must be based on scientifically substantiated criteria proven in practice."

All these relations need clear-cut administrative-legal regulation and require the prevention of a kind of "juridical swing," instability, and fluctuation from one extreme to another.

It is, of course, also a matter of lack of experience in regulating this complex sphere.

In the GDR, Hungary, and Poland there is a definite system of qualified and multifaceted regulation of this activity, not in the sense of prohibitions and restrictions, but by way of extending the rights of those who engage in it and of protecting their interests. At one time in the

GDR, individual proprietors, home workers, and cooperative members were squeezed out. And the result was a mass of acute problems in the consumer services sphere. There was an acute shortage of shoemakers, bakers, hairdressers, and specialists in repairing apartments and household equipment. The 10th SED Congress resolutely adopted a policy of developing the small private sector.

Many people are still disturbed by some people's possible "fabulous" incomes and the potential millionaire status of individual Soviet citizens. But the socialist countries' experience convinces us that, if we take the average, the incomes of the majority of craftsmen do not exceed by so much the incomes of state workers and employees, although there is, of course, a difference between them. There is undoubtedly a small group of producers whose income is several times in excess of the average. These are, in particular, workers engaged in car servicing, programming, art work, and so forth. There are also talented creators like the Hungarian engineer Rubik, whose invention has given the state a huge income. And his material success is only fair. After all, we are not disturbed by the very impressive incomes of famous writers and artists, and yet their creativity is also a kind of individual labor activity.

But it is not only a matter of incomes. It is also a matter of enhancing the social prestige of individual labor. We must retrieve the lost respect for the trade of craftsman, which we hold almost in contempt, and give the word "craft" back its original meaning. Let us recall V.I. Dal: "Craft—handicraft skill, manual labor, work and ability by which bread is earned."

Manual work, not machine work, requires very high levels of training and qualifications, and lends at the same time a unique individual slant to the product. Craftwork really can be of the standard of genuine works of art, and enjoys an increased demand not satisfied by featureless, mass, series production, now that the consumer's tastes have become very individualized. Our country has long been renowned for its craftspeople. Who are they—the smiths who created the openwork tracery of the Summer Garden's railings, the Vologda lacemakers, the Orenburg shawl knitters, the Armenian shoemakers, the Kubachi jewelers, the Urals stonecutters, the Ukrainian potters? They are all craftsmen in the true, lofty sense of the word. Are there many of them? The latter are vanishing because they have no one to pass their skill and experience on to. The institution of apprenticeship exists in the fraternal countries. The state provides certain benefits for masters who maintain apprentices and teach them their art. In our country, for some reason, this right is given only to the arts. But already there is no one to put together a good stove. Where is the logic?

Our friends' experience gives us much food for thought. We, for example, do not permit hired labor in the case of individual labor activity, although those family cooperatives in which second cousins, daughters-in-law, and sisters-in-law work are eroding this boundary, and are practically approaching the hired labor status. It is permitted on a limited scale in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR. How are we to view this? It should be emphasized that remuneration for this kind of work is regulated by the state. In fact, it is frequently higher than that for work in the state sector. In addition, the employer is obliged to conclude with the worker a labor contract providing him, at the employer's expense, with the social benefits which state workers and employees enjoy—pay during temporary incapacity for work, and pension payments. It is also an important fact that under socialism, as distinct from the capitalist system, there is no mass unemployment and no pressure from "superfluous hands" which can worsen the position of the person being hired and help to violate his social rights. He has a free choice. A person will go where things are best for him from the viewpoint of his personal interests.

Many of our citizens have hobbies to which they devote almost as much time and work as to their main job. Under the conditions of the restructuring under way in the country and in the work force, which is being released from the management and production spheres, these people could turn such an interest into the chief form of their activity. This is why, in addition to state and social-administrative measures, we must endeavor to change the psychological climate around individual labor activity.

Unfortunately, the mass media are still giving very superficial coverage to its problems. The reader is offered either overtly enthusiastic advertising or "cooked" facts about unscrupulous cooperative members. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television must cover more widely and more skillfully our friends' experience and their ways of resolving problems that are close to ours. Our skilled craftsmen also need support. We must speak about them more frequently too. Life shows the need for unions of small producers, as is happening in certain fraternal countries. In Poland, for example, there are the National Association of Small Traders and Providers of Services and the Central Union of Crafts, which include cooperatives and individual craftsmen. The latter is a very strong organization, uniting approximately 340,000 enterprises and workshops employing roughly 730,000 people in their ranks. Congresses of unions are held regularly to discuss important questions of economic and social activity and to approve its program. The National Craft Council in Poland is headed by K. Modzelewski, Sejm deputy and vice chairman of the Democratic Party.

Incidentally, some employers are equally respected people. During a tour of Poland I visited J. Nowakowska's small haberdashery store. Its proprietress was a member of the partisan movement at the time of the struggle against the Hitlerites, and is a member of the Polish Sejm's Economic Commission, a member of the Democratic Party Central Committee, and an activist in the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

In the GDR there is the Berlin Craft Chamber, which unites 13,000 members of 158 cooperatives and 18,000 workers in more than 4,500 private workshops. Such associations not only protect their wards' interests but carry out monitoring functions, enhance the prestige of craftsmanship, carry out political education work, keep an eye on the fulfillment of plans and the widening of the range of goods and services, and pay for apprentices out of their budget. They are led by people who are respected among cooperative members and private proprietors and who frequently are SED members with great public prestige. These unions have their own press organs and publications and their own rest homes. Much public work is carried out. The National Association, for example, is a collective member of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and pays considerable sums into various cultural funds.

In elevating individual labor activity to a state affair, there is no way we will avoid the need to lend it some kind of organizational form, and here our friends' experience may also prove useful. "...Calmly and efficiently to gather experience..."—this is how the task was posed at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Socialism can and must make use of any creative force, and people's wasted abilities, for the good of society, taking a sensible and businesslike approach to this.

Moscow Militia Department Arson Rumors Denied

PM1910140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Taranov report: "Rumors Surrounding a Fire"]

[Text] On the morning of 18 October in the very center of Moscow, on Bolshaya Bronnaya Street, a fire broke out in a building on the first floor of which is the 108th militia department. We were told by the city fire department that fire engines arrived at the scene in good time—at 1028 hours. The core of the fire was extinguished within 21 minutes. On the whole, there is nothing sensational about this incident: It was just an ordinary fire; thousands like it happen every day across the country. It would not have merited a report in the central press if it were not for the fact that rumors instantly flared up about it in the capital—people are saying that someone deliberately set fire to the militia department. However, the specialists who are investigating the causes of the fire do not agree with this "version of events." It is more likely that the department went up in flames for a far more commonplace, prosaic reason: failure to comply with fire safety regulations. There is no question that these regulations must be observed by everyone. But it would also be a good idea to guard against unfounded rumors.

Paper Reports Moscow Crime Prevention Session

PM1910103788 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Guarding the Capital's Peace and Quiet"]

[Text] The state of affairs as regards public order and the fight against crime in Moscow is still unsatisfactory and is causing serious concern among the city's inhabitants. There is a need for immediate, resolute, and—this is the main point—effective measures to improve law and order, as well as close collaboration in this sphere between party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, public organizations, and labor collectives.

This was said at a 14 October conference of the capital's party and economic aktiv, which discussed progress in the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the State of Affairs Regarding the Fight Against Crime in the Country and Supplementary Measures to Prevent Breaches of the Law."

Muscovites, the speakers emphasized, are right in demanding more energetic actions and results in the consolidation of socialist legality. Priority must be given to fundamentally enhancing the effectiveness of preventive work. It is necessary to raise the professional standards of cadres in law enforcement organs and to improve the coordination of actions by all services and subdivisions which maintain public order. It is necessary to actively involve the broad public, the residents of microrayons, and the labor collectives. Central law enforcement organs must give Moscow major assistance in imposing order.

The tasks of strengthening legality and law and order must be implemented fully in line with the 19th all-union party conference decisions on legal reform and on legal backing for restructuring.

All law enforcement activity must be brought closely in line with the new conditions for economic management, the democratization of social life, and the expansion of glasnost.

The conference was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Taking part in the conference were USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

A report on the conference will be published.

Drug Addiction 'Acute Problem' in Issyk-Kul

PM1710112988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 6

[TASS correspondent Z. Musin report: "Stymied by Silence: Comprehensive Program Needed To Combat Drug Addiction"]

[Text] Przhevalsk—Wild hemp, a source of narcotic substances, has been kept under careful observation in Kirghizia. In Issyk-Kul Oblast alone over R100,000 are spent on destroying it each year. And yet the narcotic weed does not yield—the area occupied by it is, for practical purposes, not decreasing. As a result the number of drug addicts is not only being maintained but, as the statistics show, is increasing.

What, then, is the problem?

"Drug addiction in the Issyk-Kul region has become an acute problem," M. Yusupov, senior officer in the oblast internal affairs administration, told me. "In the first 6 months of the year more than 40 drugs operations have been uncovered and criminal proceedings instituted against dozens of people."

The anti-drug coordinating councils see the solution primarily in destroying the hemp. Last year the oblast agro-industrial committee kept 195,000 hectares of agricultural land under observation, and discovered and destroyed 2,500 hectares of the narcotic weed on it. Of 160,000 hectares checked this year, 2,000 have been found to be infested with the weed.

I. Gomer, first deputy chairman of Issyk-Kul Oblispolkom, also believes that the main cure for this social ill is the complete destruction of the narcotic plant. There will then be no drug addiction. It is not difficult to understand this position. It is a convenient one for him, as chairman of the oblast anti-drug coordinating council, to hold. After all, it is much easier to pose an insoluble task and hide behind figures susceptible to various interpretations about areas surveyed and cleared than to organize preventive work.

There is a lot of work to do here. The coordinating councils' activity has hitherto been limited to sporadic raids to detect hemp-infested areas, and to drawing up charges against those accused of growing it. Last year almost 4,000 charges were brought in this way and fines worth over R9,500 imposed. However, such a measure has in no way improved the situation.

According to the reports and the logs, the oblast coordinating councils work together with the police, drug specialists, and the public. In reality each of them works independently. Local soviet ispolkoms are not making the necessary demands on them. For example, the Cholpon-Atinskiy Gorispolkom did not once examine any question concerned with combating drug addiction at its sessions last year. A similar situation exists in Przhevalsk City and Tonskiy Rayon Soviets.

Nor, moreover, is there yet any facility for treating drug addicts in the oblast. True, a diagnosis room to establish the initial diagnosis of drug addiction has been set aside in one of the two clinics dealing with alcoholics. But that is no solution—to detect and cure such a disease you need a residential clinic.

There is also alarm that no anti-drug work has been done in vocational and technical colleges or schools; there, they still prefer to keep quiet about drug addiction or, at best, talk about it in a cursory way, without an in-depth analysis of the causes. You would think that with the growth of drug addiction, militiamen and inspectors in charge of juvenile affairs would increase their assistance. But they have not, and educational institutions have been forced to rely on their own resources. True, the Komsomol Obkom and Przhevalsk Gorkom did take registered adolescent drug addicts under their wing, as it were, last year. But this was limited to examining the work plans of the militia's juvenile section and getting to know the young people involved. Dozens of adolescents are now registered, but not a single one has come forward at Komsomol prompting.

Party and trade union organizations are standing aloof for the time being. But without their participation success in establishing and carrying out preventive work among the population cannot be counted on.

The broad public now deems it advisable, given the dangerous spread of drug addiction, to draw up a comprehensive plan of measures on an oblast and republic scale. Life itself also demands the adoption of a law regulating questions of individual and public prevention and the education and protection of those most susceptible to drug addiction.

Economic

Expansion of Computer Industry Urged

PM2010101788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician Ye. Fedosov by Major S. Guryanov under the rubric "Problems of Information Science": "The Person in Front of the Display Screen"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Fedosov, hero of socialist labor and Lenin Prize winner, is a prominent specialist in the sphere of control systems. The subject of our conversation is information science and computer technology, its present and its future. [passage omitted]

[Guryanov] In your opinion, what are the reasons for our country's lag in developing computer technology?

[Fedosov] This is my view: One of the main reasons is underestimation of the computer's role in every-day life. When the computer was first created people treated it as the development of just another type of electronic system. Some people thought that this was just some area of technology which was developing. This attitude predetermined the evolutionary path of development. But it is revolutionary development that should have taken place. Colossal industrial machinery needed to be created in this sphere. Computer technology is based on completely different materials, and the industry for manufacturing these materials was needed. In the same area there was a need to develop certain areas of machine building connected with the production of electronic and microelectronic circuits, all kinds of precision mechanical items, various instruments, and so on. That is, a special infrastructure of new technology should have been created which would not have been inferior in scale to, for example, the infrastructure of metal working technologies when the country was being industrialized. We lagged behind in this, and it caused a definite slowdown in computer development.

[Guryanov] At what stage did this slowdown occur? You have said that computers in our country have been working for less than a decade on design and engineering calculations. It is logical to suppose that there should have been some progress in the development of this equipment. The specialists should have been able to see the prospects. All the same there was an underestimation....

[Fedosov] When our first series of computers was created, I mean the BESM [High-Speed Electronic Computer], at that time—this was more than 20 years ago—we achieved a high standard. The characteristics of the BESM-6 even exceeded the best European models. Moreover, the applied mathematics situation in our country was pretty good, and operating systems and software banks were devised. But then a tragic malfunction occurred, in my view. We decided to copy the U.S. IBM-360 and then the IBM-370 systems and created an Integrated System computer program. The CEMA countries also started copying the U.S. equipment. In brief, we went all out with this system and preprogrammed our lag. And, I repeat, we stopped our own very promising line. So we closed off the front of domestic developments, or narrowed it down, at least....

[Guryanov] How soon will we be able to eliminate this lag? What needs to be done?

[Fedosov] I am firmly convinced that the planned increase in computer production and the development of computer technology are possible, on one condition: Microelectronic technologies must be all-pervasive. I shall explain my idea. They must not fall to the lot of one department, as happens now. Today only the Ministry of the Electronics Industry handles microelectronic technology. This is holding things back.

Once again I turn to metal working for a comparison. No one thinks of approaching some ministry of forging or ministry of welding when they are making some kind of machine, for example. No! Any machine-building plant has a full set of metal-working technology. So, in order to make a modern computer, the machine developers must have at their plants not only assembly equipment but also the absolute entire set of processes connected with microelectronic technology. It is essential to develop microelectronic technology in the Ministry of the Radio Industry, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and the entire range of machine-building ministries which manufacture control computers. One sector is not capable of supplying the entire country. Meanwhile millions of personal computers [PC's] need to be produced. Our country is producing millions of television sets. In terms of complexity television sets are close to the electronics of PC's. This means that we can also organize the mass manufacture of computers.

[Guryanov] Will there not be as many complaints here as there are over television sets?

[Fedosov] That depends on the production quality. Our country is capable of producing quality computers. I repeat: The fact is that the infrastructure of computer production is underdeveloped. If the state's entire industrial power is not linked up to this work, I fear that we will continue to lag behind for a long time.

[Guryanov] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, our KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers would be interested to hear your opinion on the role of computers in military work. Imagine a battalion or regiment commander in front of a computer display unit. How can he help an officer?

[Fedosov] I shall share my thoughts as far as I can imagine a commander's work. The computer already generally plays a huge role in military work today. Many military and technical systems are equipped with control computers. Let us take an aircraft, for example. It is a relatively complex moving object. In the specialists' language it has six degrees of freedom, that is, changes of position in three-dimensional space: It can move in three planes and can also make three angular movements. So, the first sphere of computer application is controlling aircraft. Then there are navigational systems. Nowadays these are also built on the basis of computers. Computers play a part in controlling aircraft equipment and they are used in radar systems, optical and electronic sights, targeting and missile launch control systems....

But let's go back to the question about the commander. If we take the staff of a formation, for example, it cannot get by without a computer. As I understand it, the staff's main task is to process all kinds of information and plan the combat operation. Working out combat decisions is a human prerogative, the sphere of his intellectual, if you like, his creative activity. But a machine can successfully process information and take on routine calculations.

For example, a regiment commander can access the formation's computer network via his own PC. And also get essential information to his subordinates using the computer.

Computers for commanders should be manufactured in bulk, and they should be cheap. Their response-time should be sufficiently high and they should have the necessary memory capacity. But the main concern is reliability. The requirement for reliability in increased because the machines will be operating in very specific conditions. The responsibility is enormous, and a computer error would cost too much. Do we have a PC like that? Not today. But we will have one tomorrow. For certain. I believe that. How soon will that tomorrow come? It is difficult to be specific about the time. I have already talked about the problems which remain to be resolved by our society on the path to broad computerization. Evidently, computers will reach the forces in bulk through them, through their solution. [Passage omitted]

Possible Industry Reorganization Explained
PM1910112988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Responsible for Losses: USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building Decides to Apply Sanctions Providing for Possible Reorganization or Winding Up of 13 Loss-Making Enterprises and Associations"; followed by interview with I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau on Machine Building, by unnamed correspondent—date, place not specified]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, together with the machine building ministries, the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, the State Committee for Prices, and the Bank for Industrial Construction of the USSR, has examined the question of measures to improve the financial status of enterprises and prevent them from making a loss. It was noted that in 1987-1988 the number of loss-making enterprises in machine building was reduced from 127 to 84. Nevertheless, as of 1 July this year 4 percent of enterprises were loss-making and their total losses amounted to R112.7 million.

A session approved the programs submitted by the ministries designed to enable each one of the 84 enterprises to work without making a loss—58 of them in 1989 and a further 12 in 1990. The bureau also accepted the ministries' proposals on the application of Article 23 of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) to a number of enterprises. As is well known, Article 23 provides for the possibility of reorganizing or even winding up enterprises which make losses over a long period. Those enterprises are:

In the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry: the Belskiy machine tool standards plant, the Voroshilovgrad instrument production association, the Kishinev experimental foundry, the Leningrad "Reduktor" plant, the Oyashinskiy fastenings plant, the Rustava "Tsentrolit" foundry, and the Usmanskiy foundry equipment plant.

In the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry: the Leninsk-Kuznetsk electric lamp plant and the Poti dynamoelectric amplifiers plant.

In the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building: the Faleshti sidewalk cleaning equipment plant.

In the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building: the Gremyachinsk printing machinery plant and the Kizilyurtovskiy printing equipment plant.

In the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry: the No. 20 State bearing plant in Kursk.

In this connection, your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine building, to comment.

[Correspondent] Ivan Stepanovich, what prompted this extraordinary decision?

[Silayev] At the moment this decision does seem unusual. As is well known, until now loss-making enterprises lived off the ministries' centralized funds. But where did the ministries get those resources? From enterprises which worked well and produced a high profit. This practice was sharply criticized at the 19th party conference. After all, the new economic mechanism, under whose conditions all machine builders have been working since the beginning of this year, envisages that enterprises cover their own costs [samookupayemost] and finance themselves. Even now a considerable proportion of profit remains at the disposal of labor collectives themselves. Therefore, in the future it will not be possible to cover the inefficient work of some enterprises by the efficient work of others. In principle, too, such an approach is contrary to the nature of economic accountability. Thus by using Article 23 of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), we are taking a natural and logical step forward in the development of the new system of economic management.

[Correspondent] But why did this work begin specifically with the machine-building complex?

[Silayev] First and foremost because the machine-building complex is the first one where all the enterprises have switched to full economic accountability. Also because this complex is of crucial significance for the

retooling of the national economy. And finally because the health of our entire country's economy depends tremendously on the health of the machine-building complex's economy.

Judge for yourself: It includes 1,500 production associations and enterprises producing 11 percent of all industrial production. It goes without saying that the highly efficient work of the machine-building complex is one of the main conditions for the dynamic development of other sectors of the national economy.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, even under the new conditions some enterprises are making a loss. Why is that?

[Silayev] There are several reasons. First of all, the poor standard of economic management and the inability of a number of collectives and their leaders to resolutely eliminate outmoded practices and working methods. It also centers on the inability to make full use of production capacities, their slow assimilation, outmoded production and labor organization, obsolete equipment and poor-quality output.... In brief, the inability to think in an economically intelligent way and to work in a modern way. I shall cite one fact, at first glance a paradoxical one: It is at the loss-making enterprises that above-norm stocks of goods and material assets are 50-100 percent above the economically justified level.

Among the reasons for loss-making work, of course, there are some which are not always under the control of labor collectives themselves: The imbalance between production plans and resources, shortcomings in the organization of material and technical supply, failure to meet contract and other commitments for deliveries, disruptions to the work of transport and energy, and so on. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: Increasing the efficiency of each enterprise's work is the main way to resolve these problems. Therefore the existence of loss-making enterprises is incompatible with the economic reform and the demands of the times.

[Correspondent] So does that mean, Ivan Stepanovich, that all the enterprises whose future has been examined by the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building face closure?

[Silayev] No. The Bureau's decision stirred collectives and prompted them to seek effective measures to overcome the critical situation. It is well known, for example, that in view of the threat of closure, the collectives of the Gremyachinsk printing machinery plant and the Belskiy machine tool standards plant adopted a decision to increase production by 70 percent and 130 percent respectively, which ensures that they will not make a loss in 1989.

There are other ways: Weak enterprises can become part of economically strong ones and reorganize their production. But the collectives of the No. 20 State bearing plant in Kursk, Leningrad's "Reduktor" plant, and the Kishinev experimental foundry acted even more resolutely: They announced their intention to lease those enterprises. All these measures are being elaborated by the labor collectives themselves in close cooperation with local party and soviet organs and with ministry specialists.

The question of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building's loss-making "Krastyazhmash" plant is a separate one. The point is that this major enterprise, which is extremely necessary to the national economy, makes a loss for reasons which are mainly beyond the collective's control. The USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building has outlined a program whereby the plant will cease to make a loss from 1993 on. The Bureau for Machine Building did not accept this and instructed the ministry to prepare a program designed for a shorter period. This question will be examined at a session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium.

[Correspondent] Is similar work going on in other national economic complexes in the country?

[Silayev] Yes, it is. This is understandable: On the scale of our entire economy, loss-making enterprises cause us a colossal amount of harm—R10 billion a year. I hope that in the not-too-distant future the news media, including IZVESTIYA, will be able to describe what measures are being taken to transfer loss-making enterprises to the path of profitable work.

New Passenger Jet Produced: Economical, Quiet

LD1710154688 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—The TU-204, a new jet passenger plane intended for 3,500-4,000 km flights and capable of carrying on board 214 passengers has been created in the Soviet Union, PRAVDA reported today. Aircraft builders believe that the plane designed by the design office named after Andrey Tupolev will be the most economical plane of this class in the Soviet Union.

Aleksey Tupolev, head of the design office, said in a PRAVDA interview that their most important task was to make a plane with high flight and technical characteristics, reliable and safe in conditions of intensive exploitation, consuming a much smaller amount of fuel and having low exploitation expenditures. The new plane will be much more comfortable for passengers, while the airlines will be able to save twice as much fuel as against the average level in Aeroflot. A TU-204 produces less noise.

Aleksey Tupolev said that there were a lot of novel things in the technology of manufacturing of the new plane. "New production processes ensured a perceptible reduction of the plane's weight and improved the quality of

outside surfaces. [no close quotation mark as received] Thermomechanical compounds based on the so-called "memory of metals" are widely used during the assembly of hydraulic systems.

Pilot and navigation equipment is capable of exercising automatic flight control along programmed routes and automatic landing in bad weather conditions. The use of new design solutions permitted to perceptibly improve the weight characteristics of the plane, as well as its flight and technical characteristics.

The TU-204 is to undergo flight trials this year. It is planned to start using it for passenger transportation in 1990. At present the assembly and adjustment of the plane's units is under way at the first prototype model, Aleksey Tupolev said.

Agricultural

Students' Training in Hungary Badly Utilized

PM2010090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Sharp Signal. ...Not A Word"]

[Text] Budapest—They were waiting in August. They wanted to show off Budapest and hold the first familiarization lectures on Hungary. In September they wanted to get down to teaching. It is the fifth year that the Godollo Agriculture University has received first-year Soviet students. There used to be impermissible, inexplicable delays before. But this time!... It is already the second half of October, and the group still has not arrived. There's been no word either from the USSR State Committee for Public Education or from the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. What's happened? Will there be any students at all?

The question of training Soviet agricultural science students at Godollo was decided during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Hungary in 1983. Godollo's teachers conduct first- and second-year classes in Russian and a great deal of attention is devoted to practical work in cooperatives, state farms, modern food industry enterprises, and computer laboratories. The first-year program (32 students were expected this year) was prepared on time and teachers, premises, and hostel places allocated. The places have been vacant for 2 months already, even though many Hungarian students have been forced to rent expensive rooms.

Janos Dinnyes, one of the leaders of the teaching program for Soviet students (there are 102 students in years 2-5), who has invested a great deal of effort in organizing the entire teaching process, only shrugs his shoulders helplessly:

"We have sent telegrams but no one has even found time to answer them and tell us when the Soviet kids are coming or whether there will even be any here at all this year"

The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee is the "customer" and the USSR State Committee For Public Education is the senior "executive." Perhaps we don't need rural specialists trained in Hungary, where cooperative workers harvest an average of 55-60 quintals of wheat per hectare and supply the population with plenty of meat, milk, and vegetables, and between them bring in one-third of the country's entire hard-currency revenue?

What's more, you can't help worrying about the young men and women who will soon be graduating from the VUZ in Godollo. How will they be deployed? Has thought been given as to how this can be done to derive greater benefit and greater return? When you talk to them you often see that they don't know what awaits them on their return to the Soviet Union, or whether they are needed at all with their "international" knowledge....

Krasnoyarsk Grain Figures Reported

PM1910101388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Siberia's Difficult Grain"]

[Excerpt] Krasnoyarsk, 14 Oct—Just a few days remain until the end of the harvest on the fields of Krasnoyarsk Kray. The machine operators have completed the threshing of the grain crops over the second million hectares. Over 800,000 tonnes of grain, including 100,000 tonnes of valuable strains, have reached the grain reception centers. [passage omitted]

Scientific

Cosmonauts' Space Walk Scheduled for 20 Oct

LD1810160988 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the mission control center: Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing planned work aboard the research platform Mir.

They have conducted a series of observations focussing on an x-ray pulsar in the Small Magellanic Cloud as part of an international program of astroyhysics studies.

The crew are completing preparations for a space walk. The extra-vehicular work, which will be done on the platform's outer surface by Titov and Manarov, will begin in the morning of October 20.

Research physician Polyakov will stay inside to monitor on-board systems as well as the health of the commander and the flight engineer.

The flight of the manned platform is proceeding as scheduled. The cosmonauts are in good health and feeling well.

Mars Manned Flight Problems Outlined

LD1810113788 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A manned mission to Mars, which the USSR plans to send in 2015-17, will need the creation of a biological habitat aboard the spaceship close to the one on earth. This comment was made by Academician Oleg Gazenko and doctors of medicine Anatoliy Grigoryev and Yevgeniy Ilyin in an article on the medico-biological aspects of a manned mission to Mars in the journal "ZEMLYA I VSELENNAYA" (EARTH AND UNIVERSE).

The current orbital flights make use of physical and chemical systems of regeneration, which provide oxygen, water and food and remove carbon dioxide. For a flight to Mars a life-support system, featuring some of the biological processes, will have to be developed. It should comprise monocelled algae, higher plants and some species of animals (for example fowl and fish). This will help partly reproduce the natural vegetable and animal food and to approximate the habitat of the cosmonauts to the natural conditions.

Another problem involved in a manned expedition to Mars is radiation safety. Space radiation, against which no effective protection has been found, is the main threat to the crew. Therefore, it is expedient to carry out the flight in the period of maximum solar activity, when galactic rays are at their minimum. To cut down the radiation danger from solar bursts to the acceptable level, it is necessary to have on board the spaceship a radiation shelter and a very reliable self-contained system of radiation control and forecast, which will warn the cosmonauts of the danger.

The manned flight to Mars also calls for solving a number of physiological problems connected with long exposure to zero gravity. A lot of experience was accumulated in the USSR as regards the prolonged stays in outer space. Five Soviet cosmonauts stayed in the orbit for more than 200 days, and Yuriy Romanenko flew on a 326-day space mission last year which brought to 430 the totl number of days spent by him in space. Soviet specialists have developed a system to prevent unfavorable impact of zero gravity on the organism, which allows cosmonauts to withstand zero gravity and then adapt themselves quickly to the earth gravitation.

Two unmanned expeditions will be made prior to the landing of man on Mars. In 1994 the Soviet Union plans to land on the surface of the planet a Mars vehicle and a balloon. The other mission, scheduled for 1988, will involve bringing to earth samples of Martian rock. The two projects and the manned expedition will be carried out on the basis of wide international cooperation.

Military

Yazov on Effects of 'New Political Thinking'

AU1710213288 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Oct 88 p 1

["MS." article: "Yazov: 'Not Aiming at Supremacy'"]

[Text] Bonn—USSR Defense Minister Dimitriy Yasov has for the first time declared that Moscow's "new political thinking" will also affect Soviet military doctrine and the structure of the organization of staffs and troops. In an article for a supplement of DIE WELT which will be published on 21 October on the occasion of Chancellor Kohl's visit to the USSR, Yazov writes that this new political thinking finds its "concrete practical expression in the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine. One of its most important components is the principle of defensive sufficiency. It presupposes a permanent reduction of military confrontation, taking into account mutuality, equality, and the equal security of both sides," Yazov emphasized.

The USSR and its allies "are not aiming at military supremacy, but will not tolerate somebody else's. They do not call for greater security, but cannot accept less security."

Regarding the military doctrine, Yazov stated that it "reflects the character of the policy on which it is based." Against this background, the USSR's military doctrine "can only be defensive. We have never related and will never relate our future to solving international problems with military means."

What is new is the conclusion that the effectiveness of the USSR's "defense building" must be secured by "qualitative features," Yazov wrote. This necessity, he states, has arisen from the need to make positive tendencies "irreversible." It is also a matter of resisting the "policy of strength." Moreover, this new orientation results from the understanding that "emphasizing quantitative features is not only becoming increasingly expensive, but increasingly ineffective, from both a military-political and the actual military point of view." With regard to technology, "stressing quality" means above all the higher reliability of tactical data. As to the effects on military science, it is mainly a matter of "working out new concepts of the art of war along the lines of the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine," as well as a matter of training leading cadres, Yazov stated.

In this context, Army General Yazov voiced heavy criticism: "Up to now, our military theory has all too often been paralyzed by laziness, stereotypes, and the lack of rivaling ideas and views. Creativity, initiative, courageous research, and acceptable risks are absolutely indispensable to true science." "Perfecting the quality" of the composition of the USSR Armed Forces requires,

above all, an organizational structure which "guarantees the fulfilling of military tasks with the lowest possible expenditure of means and resources," Yazov wrote.

Bulgarian Army Daily Interviews Yazov
AU1910172488 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov, NARODNA ARMIYA editor in chief, and Colonel Lyubomir Mikhaylov, NARODNA ARMIYA military political commentator: "Reliable Defense of Socialism and Peace—This is Our Common and Responsible Task"; conducted 12 October at the end of his 3-day visit to Sofia]

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, paid an official, friendly visit to our country from 10 to 12 October 1988. Just before his departure Army General Dmitriy Yazov was kind enough to answer our prepared questions. We are submitting this interview for our readers:

(Zlatkov, Mikhaylov) Comrade Army General, the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army follow with great interest the restructuring process in the Soviet Union and within the USSR Armed Forces in particular. Could you describe the main trends of this restructuring process, and tell our readers something about the results of the experience in its practical implementation?

(Yazov) The revolutionary restructuring which was initiated by the CPSU and is being implemented under its leadership encompasses all spheres of Soviet society. Our country today is devoting active, practical efforts to the implementation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which turned into the most important political event of restructuring. Measures are being applied for the intensification of the economic reform, the reform of the political system, and for the democratization of social life. These measures are aimed at the fullest implementation of the powerful potentials of socialism in the people's interest and for the sake of increasing the people's prosperity, as well as for a reliable guarantee of peaceful conditions for the people's creative labor.

Restructuring in the Soviet Armed Forces is expanding and being intensified just as it is in all other spheres throughout the country. This is a natural process, since the Armed Forces represent an integral and inseparable part of the people and share the people's lives. The chief essence of restructuring within the Armed Forces consists of improving training on a qualitatively new level, of making sure that they efficiently handle their tasks pertaining to the defense of the Soviet state—together with all Warsaw Pact member-countries—and they will accomplish the tasks pertaining to the defense of socialism and peace throughout the earth.

The basic trends of restructuring within the Armed Forces are determined by the fundamental political stand adopted at the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference in connection with guaranteeing the construction of our defense system through quality indexes, in the first place. The three most important trends of restructuring are the following:

One: The implementation of the development and training of armed forces in strict conformity with the Soviet military doctrine of defense. This doctrine, just like the military doctrine of each individual Warsaw Pact member-country, and of our organization as a whole, is entrusted with the task of preventing war, and stems from the requirement of maintaining the military forces at the lowest possible level, and from the expediency of reducing the existing military potentials to the limits necessary for the country's defense.

Two: The improvement of the military cadres' working style: We have in mind above all the increase of professionalism, and the creative application of methods of work likely to conform the most to contemporary standards of military affairs, to the existing educational and cultural requirements, and to the responsible tasks facing the Armed Forces. The heart of the matter, in this respect, is the requirement to eliminate the elements of formalism and bureaucratic methods, and to overcome the alienation of certain officers from their subordinates, as well as to consolidate the close human relations of the command-political cadres with the masses of soldiers and sailors as the chief source of the socialist army's strength and invincibility.

Last, but not least, the third trend is the democratization of army life. In the Army, as in all Soviet society, this process is expanding on a socialist basis. Within the framework of a consistent implementation of the one-man command principle the work of the Army and Navy party organizations is intensifying and the role of the soldiers' collectives at meetings of different ranks of military personnel—officers, ensigns, midshipmen, and sergeants—is being enhanced at general meetings of the army personnel, in permanent evaluation commissions, in women's councils, and in other democratic institutions existing within the Armed Forces. The participation of our army and navy personnel in solving various problems of army life, in observing the principles of social justice, and in expanding glasnost—all this contributes to the consolidation of the human factor. The mass involvement of our army personnel in all spheres of activities is the chief prerequisite for eliminating such negative phenomena as relations between members of the military personnel which are not based on regulations, leniency, lack of discipline, and irresponsibility, and at the same time this involvement represents a decisive guarantee for the success of overall restructuring within the Armed Forces.

A considerable amount of experience in restructuring accumulated during the past 3 years and more. This experience showed that emphasis on quality in solving

defense problems and in Army and Navy training, along with the development of technical equipment and military science as well as an expanding process of democratization and glasnost, resulted in the consolidation of conscious military discipline and in the establishment of a strict system of regulations; and this is likely to improve the soldiers' training in conformity with the level of their combat readiness.

(Question) World developments today are marked by the increasing importance of political methods in solving international problems. Can you tell us, Comrade Army General, how you evaluate this process and how your meetings with U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci influenced this development?

(Yazov) The increasing role of political methods in solving international problems is a law-governed process; it is logical and absolutely positive. The dynamic development of global events and the radical changes which occurred in international relations; the growing dependency of the states upon each other; the accelerated scientific-technical progress; the development and accumulation of weapons of unprecedented, destructive power—all these elements urgently require that the cliche of military policy from the position of strength be rejected, and that the dangerous dogmas of "nuclear restraint" be eliminated. The urgent requirement for a new approach to questions of war and peace and new political thinking prevails today.

The joint actions of the fraternal socialist countries on the international scene are based on this way of thinking precisely. The new political thinking is steadily overcoming the resistance to imperialist reaction and prevails over the forces of militarism and aggression. Certain positive changes can be observed in the international sphere. One of them is the practical implementation of the INF Treaty, which marked the beginning of nuclear disarmament. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which exerted a beneficial influence upon the search for political means in connection with the settlement of other regional conflicts, are also part of these positive changes. The halt in the tragic and destructive war between Iran and Iraq, which lasted over 8 years, as well as the emergence of promising opportunities for the solution to the Middle East situation and for untying the knots of contradictions in Central America, in northern and southern Africa, and in the Asian-Pacific zone—all these events can also be counted among the positive factors. A powerful new incentive for the process of detente in international relations and for the solution of controversial issues was also provided by the ideas and proposals which Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, submitted in his Krasnoyarsk speech of September 1988.

The fact that practically the entire complex of East-West negotiations has moved away from a deadlock provides evidence for the gradual prevalence of political methods as basic instruments for settling international problems. For over 2 years we have lived under the influence of the Stockholm agreements, which the socialist states, including the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are conscientiously observing by fully implementing their plans on mutual briefing about military activities. The Soviet-American Geneva negotiations are further pursued. A real chance exists for the achievement of positive results in the negotiations on banning nuclear tests. We are justified in expecting that the convention on banning chemical weapons will be completed.

The All-European process is further developing. The Warsaw Pact member-states devote energetic efforts to the implementation of the decisions adopted at the Conference of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Political Committee held in July 1988. As is known, this conference developed a concept of the common "all-European home" and adopted a platform for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe; agreement is now being reached in Vienna on the mandate of these negotiations. The solution to this problem, in stages, under strict international control, and including on-the-spot inspections, is in accordance with the basic interests of consolidating stability and security on the European Continent and all over the world.

To put it briefly, the new political thinking, which laid the emphasis on a responsible, constructive solution of topical, international problems with the assistance of political methods, provides mankind with the opportunity to intensify and consolidate the positive trends emerging in global development and to make these trends irreversible. These, precisely, were the goals we pursued during our meetings with U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. I think that given the entire complexity of problems and the differences in the approaches to their solution, such meetings should be considered absolutely positive, since they contribute to the clarification of stands, to more precisely formulating the individual issues, and since they serve the search for mutually acceptable solutions and thus contribute, in the long run, to the alleviation of tension and to the consolidation of international security.

(Question) The friendship between our two fraternal armies is based on ancient traditions and roots. How would you describe its new dimensions, under the present conditions, in connection with implementing our common responsible task—the defense of peace and socialism?

(Yazov) As a matter of fact, the friendship between our two peoples and countries is based on century-old traditions. People in our country know about and revere the heroes of Pleven, Stara Zagora, Shipka, and Sheynovo, who rejected the Ottoman oppression and fought for Bulgaria's independence. The immortal deeds of the soldier-internationalists, among whom there were many Bulgarians, and who soon after the victory of the Great October Revolution joined in the defense of Soviet

power in our country against the attempts of white guardists and foreign military interventionists, are also unforgettable. The traditions of internationalism were pursued and multiplied throughout the years of the struggle against Hitler's fascist invaders. In the final stage of the Great Patriotic War, detachments and units of the Bulgarian People's Army actively participated in the Belgrade, Balaton, and Vienna operations. Many of your compatriots were awarded Soviet military decorations for the manly behavior, stamina, courage, and heroism they manifested in those terrible days.

The victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria endowed the friendship between our two peoples with new qualities. Fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union played an important role in the construction of socialist Bulgaria, and for over 45 years this cooperation has helped both our peoples, integrated in the united and indestructible family of all peoples belonging to the socialist community member-countries, cope with the development and defense of our new society.

Today, at a turning point in the development of world socialism, when the work of transforming and innovating all spheres of social life is expanding increasingly in the fraternal countries, our friendship is assuming new dimensions. This pertains both to the integration processes within the CEMA framework and to cooperation in our military alliance—the Warsaw Pact. If we talk about those aspects of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship which are closest to my heart—namely the brotherhood in arms between the USSR Armed Forces and the Bulgarian People's Army—I may say that the new changes in this field are manifesting themselves, above all, in the improvement of the quality standards of our comprehensive cooperation.

The framework of our mutual exchange of experience in the practical accomplishment of the tasks entrusted to both our armies, in connection with the implementation of the Warsaw Pact military defense doctrines, has expanded. One of the most recent pieces of evidence of this was the participation of delegations from fraternal countries, including a Bulgarian People's Army delegation headed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, in the command-staff exercises of the Soviet Armed Forces under the code name "Autumn'88". Our military-technical cooperation is becoming closer and closer, and I would even say that it is based increasingly on consideration for our mutual interests. Our mutual relations, as a whole, given all their true fraternal sincerity, are assuming greater openness today, and distinguish themselves by even more specific stands and businesslike examination of crucial issues, including unresolved problems.

There is no doubt that all this effectively contributes to the accelerated implementation of our common responsible task—the reliable defense of socialism and peace.

(Question) Dmitriy Timofeyevich, can you describe the impressions of your first official visit to our country as USSR minister of defense?

(Yazov) The spectrum of my impressions is so rich and varied that it is hardly possible—I would even say impossible—to enumerate all of these impressions. This is why I will mention only the most important ones. Like all members of the Soviet military delegation I was deeply moved by the manifestations of friendship and cordiality, filled with great emotion, which we experienced wherever we went during our visit to your hospitable country. This homeland of yours, Bulgaria, is an exceptionally beautiful country, and we admired your historical monuments, the present appearance of your towns, your industrial and agricultural enterprises, as well as the people, who are friendly, cheerful, and benevolent. During our brief stay we met many working people and soldiers, and we had the opportunity to feel their warmth and their sincere, internationalist feelings of affection for the Soviet Union, the USSR Armed Forces, and the Soviet people. We, the Soviet people, have the same profound and sincere feelings of affection for the people and soldiers of fraternal Bulgaria. This, obviously, is the main source of the vital strength of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, a strength which multiplies our forces both in constructive work and in guaranteeing national and collective security.

(Question) Last but not least, what would you like to says to the Bulgarian readers of the daily NARODNA ARMIYA?

(Yazov) To all the readers of your army daily I wish vigorous health, prosperity, and happiness, as well as success in their work, to the benefit of your beautiful motherland. As to the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, I wish that, together with the other allied armies, they may increase their combat skill and always be ready to defend the revolutionary achievements of the fraternal peoples, the security of our community, socialism, and peace.

Expert Interviewed on Asian Defense Strategy

OW2010075088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Interview with military affairs expert (Pleshkov) by station commentator Shakov, entitled: "The Soviet Union's Defense Theory as Viewed from the Pacific Ocean"—date, place not given; read by station announcer; interview participants' voices heard initially in Russian at beginning of each question and answer, fading after a few seconds]

[Text] Shakov: I now have Lieutenant Colonel (Pleshkov), who is a military affairs expert, in our recording room. We will talk about the Soviet Union's military theory. Here is my first question: Has the Soviet Union's ongoing reform affected Soviet military theory?

Lieutenant Colonel (Pleshkov): I would like first of all to define the topic of our discussion. The Soviet Union's military theory reflects its attitude toward the basic issues of war and peace. The Soviet attitude toward Asia and Europe is identical: that is, there should be no war, be it nuclear war or conventional war. This is why our military theory is purely defensive in nature. In Asia this theory seeks to protect the safety of Soviet people residing in the country's eastern region, as well as that of our allies in this part of the world.

Second, let us talk about the question itself. The reform which is taking place in all aspects of Soviet life makes no exception for military affairs. Soviet military strategies and installations, including those in Asia, are developed precisely in accordance with the qualitative and quantitative parameters needed for defense. To put it in simple language, every Soviet soldier today is studying ways to fulfill the duty of defending the motherland's frontier with [words indistinct].

Shakov: Sometimes, people would accuse us of lacking the evidence to prove the defensive nature of the Soviet military strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region. Do you think such an accusation is tenable?

Here is Lieutenant Colonel (Pleshkov)'s answer: I would put it this way: People who have ears and eyes can hear and see for themselves—not to mention the numerous eyes and ears watching the movements of Soviet armed forces in the region. Take, for instance, the facts that are currently available. Over 100 intermediate- and shorter-range guided missiles have already been destroyed in the (Shavyask) testing ground in Soviet Central Asia and the (Olovyannaya) military installations in the Outer Baykal Region. As you know, this has been proved [words indistinct]. At the nuclear testing ground in Kazakhstan's Semipalatinsk, U.S. experts observed an underground nuclear explosion [words indistinct]. We believe that the explosion showed that the Soviet Union and the United States have earnestly (?implemented) the agreement on stopping experiments for nuclear weapons, including underground nuclear tests. [sentence as heard]

I would like to remind listeners that, like China, the Soviet Union has committed itself not to be the first country to use nuclear weapons. We have already withdrawn some troops from our allies' territories, have continued to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and have reduced the numbers of troops stationed on the Soviet-Chinese border. The defensive nature of our military theory is reflected in Soviet armed forces' everyday activities, as well as in the strict regulations (?banning) unauthorized use of nuclear weapons in military exercises organized by staff departments. Did I answer your question?

Shakov: I am very pleased with your answer. However, new problems have cropped up. As every undertaking is not smooth sailing, what obstacles has the Soviet Union encountered in implementing its defensive military theory?

(Pleshkov): The main obstacle comes from the United States' support for the military strategy of its close allies in the Asia-Pacific region. In Europe, NATO members have taken part in the negotiations for reducing the level of military confrontation. But in Asia and the Pacific, a mechanism for such negotiations does not exist, nor does an obvious desire on the part of the Western countries and Japan for establishing such a mechanism. Although Soviet leader Gorbachev made a proposal in Vladivostok 2 years ago, reiterated recently in Krasnoyarsk, to hold a dialogue to reduce the military threat level in the Asia-Pacific region, it seems that the U.S. generals would rather watch Soviet defensive military theory put into practice through a [words indistinct] telescope than discuss a wide range of military questions of mutual interest, including, of course, U.S. military activities [words indistinct] ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific Region.

Shakov: Would you please discuss the development of the basic directions of Soviet military theory in the Asia-Pacific region? Is this a military secret?

(Pleshkov): There is no secret whatsoever in Soviet military theory, which will further [words indistinct] in the region. The Soviet Union's political statements regarding its defensive military theory will be further proved by changes in Soviet military planning, troop structure, and combat training. You may have noticed that our military theory itself has become more and more open. Authoritative public figures in the Soviet Union have already taken part in formulating military theory. For example, in a recent article historian-academician Arbatov called the large numbers of troops stationed along both sides of the border between the Soviet Union and China, two socialist countries, an abnormal phenomenon. He proposed that the level of military confrontation be reduced by each side based on the principle of rational [words indistinct] until the Soviet-Chinese border becomes a totally demilitarized zone. In my opinion this proposal is reasonable. Realization of the proposal will exert a positive and favorable influence on Soviet-Chinese relations and strengthen the atmosphere of trust and security in all of Asia.